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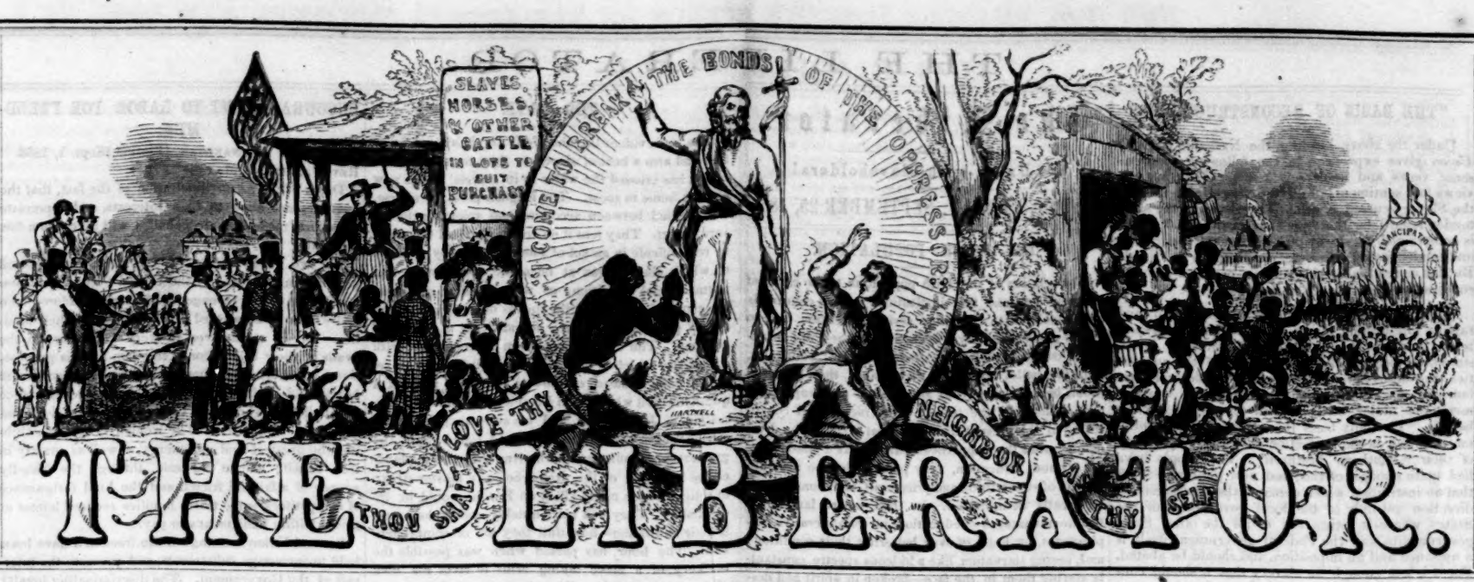

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE CHURCH THE ONLY EMANCIPATOR.

Are the negroes of America capable of civilization? They certainly are, because they are rational beings. They are a race, or nation, in all its integrity. Is there anything in Protestantism to civilize them? We have just seen that the Church alone has the mission to teach the races or nations, and it alone has done all the civilization that has been accomplished. It would, therefore, be against the divine arrangement that any power but the church should civilize the blacks; and, consequently, no other power *can* civilize them. If the Church *alone* has the mission to civilize the nations, *how* can any other power civilize? No other power has jurisdiction in the matter, and no other power has the required capacity. Other powers—Heathenism, and Protestantism in its various forms of infidelity, Atheism, Mormonism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc., etc., etc.—have attempted to civilize, but they have utterly failed; they undid some of the good they found before them, and they spread falsehoods of the most unfortunate description. These powers went abroad without authority, and they took nothing with them that was true which they did not steal, and, therefore, which could not have prospered, or which they did not invent, and, consequently, which could not have succeeded. And this, *ipso facto*, has been the case. *The Church alone has the mission and the power to civilize.* Its future history will not be an exception to its past.

And what is true of civilization is true of freedom, for the latter is implied in the former. The bonds of white slavery in Europe were broken by the balms and thunders of the Church. When it alone was made the teacher, it alone was made the emancipator. Freeing the soul destroyed the bondage of the body.

And will the Church teach and liberate the Black race of America? It will: but *long, long is the day until it has done so.* Catholicity and freedom to the slave will be preceded by *Catholicity to the white master*—in fact, *to all the white race in the country*, because *the Church has a greater interest in bringing the whites within its fold than the Blacks*—and this, not on account of spiritual, but on account of temporal considerations (!), for the church being here on earth, is liable to be affected in a temporal manner—and because the consent and example of the whites are necessary for Black conversion. *The whites first.* But when will the Church be the only Church in America? When will the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Episcopalians, the Infidels, the Atheists, etc., etc., etc., of the land, be Catholics? The Church has grown with miraculous rapidity here in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, and in all our other cities; it gains new, surprising victories every day, and it has the mission of *taking the whole Republic under its protection.* But the divine intellect alone can tell the period at which it will have realized that mission. It is a plain truth, that the extinction of heresy, and the consequent universality of the Church in America, are exceedingly remote. *This remoteness is the term of the negro's degradation.* The shorter it is, the better for him; the longer, the worse.

Here we have the principle that negro emancipation can be affected by the Church alone, and that *an immense period of time must pass before the Church effects it.* The Abolitionist will not admit this. But that does not alter the fact. The Church *alone* has the mission to teach, and, therefore, to liberate; and the Church cannot be robbed of its mission. HE who founded it will be with it forever. Abolitionism is a new and a mad thing. It is a form of Protestantism: *it is a religion.* Its abettors—rather, its victims—look upon it as amply sufficient to secure their eternal salvation. With them, the great principles of faith are nothing in comparison to it. It is a real means of salvation with them. It has made practical Atheists of thousands.

If you tell Wendell Phillips that *Holy Writ sanctioned slavery*, the fanatic would respond that Holy Writ was wrong; and, accordingly, *he rejects Holy Writ*, taking negrophily to be far more truthful. Multitudes of Puritans are spiritually diseased in the same unfortunate manner. Look at the Abolition Editors of the land: they are never tired of the negro. Each day they show a new and extravagant phase of love for his freedom. He has passed into their souls; he is the religion, and the *only* religion of all these people. How can such a people and such a *religion*, or fact, be the civilizers and emancipators of the negro race? The thing, in its just, rational sense, is impossible. The Abolitionists, in the very madness of their negrophilistic religion, *have dragged the country into a terrible war*; but their power has commenced to decline; their term of authority is rapidly drawing to a close. The interests of the country demand a complete reversion of their acts; that reversion will and must be made; and *with the next Administration, the institution of slavery will be as strong as ever it was.* Negrophily has not won the favor of God, because it is a *religion*, and because it has produced one of the most unfortunate wars that ever afflicted a nation; and in the judgment of the sane inhabitants of the land, it has been a blight to the Union and Constitution. On account of these facts, the Abolitionists cannot have success. The different races of Europe have received all that is good in their souls, and all that is bright in their intellects, and, *therefore*, all that is happy in personal condition, from the Church. The African race in America will get his amelioration from the same cause.

Let us, therefore, hold our breath. Slavery has many hideous vices connected with it. But negrophily, because it has been made a religion of, a very means of salvation itself, *is a greater evil.* When to this is added *the terrible war it has caused*, it stands in the most exceptionable light. The Church, in its own good time, will embark in the matter. Haste is useless. The Mother of Wisdom cannot be driven. The world is hers; she will exist forever; therefore she can take her time. Nothing stronger can be said against *negrophily* than this, that the Church, which alone has the mission and the capacity to do the negro his best good, *has never seconded it.* If it were a *rational* movement, the Church of the land would have given it its benediction. Let us hold our breath. The force of this *horrid religion of negrophily* is rapidly declining in power; the Constitution and Union are again above the horizon, and ascending swiftly to their grand native height in the centre of the heavens; and the true good of the Black the Church in its own good time will effect, and the evil of slavery will be removed. Let us await the Church in patience; for we must do so *in fact.* To join the negrophilists—or the nigger worshippers—(this term is singularly appropriate)—is to assist a real heresy.—*Boston (Irish Catholic) Pilot.*

☞ If the Editor of the *Pilot* chooses to write himself down, from week to week, as an equal admixture of the blackguard, the harlequin, and the knave, this is "a free country," and he can gratify himself.

Selections.

O'CONNELL ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

FURTHER EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES.

I speak of liberty in commendation. Patriotism is a virtue, but it can be selfish. Give me the great and immortal Bolivar, the savior and regenerator of his country. He found her a province, and he has made her a nation. His first act was to give freedom to the slaves upon his own estate. (Hear, hear.) In Colombia, all castes and all colors are free and unshackled. But how I like to contrast him with the far-famed Northern heroes! George Washington! that great and enlightened character,—the soldier and the statesman,—had but one blot upon his character. He had slaves, and he gave them liberty when he wanted them no longer. (Loud cheers.) Let America, in the fulness of her pride, wave on high her banner of freedom and its blazing stars. I point to her, and say, There is one foul blot upon it; you have negro slavery. They may compare their struggles for freedom to Marathon and Leuctra, and point to the rifleman with his gun, amidst her woods and forests, shouting for liberty and America. In the midst of their laughter and their pride, I point them to the negro children screaming for the mother from whose bosom they have been torn. America, it is a foul stain upon your character! (Cheers.) This conduct, kept up by men who had themselves to struggle for freedom, is doubly unjust. Let them hoist the flag of liberty, with the whip and rack on one side, and the stars of freedom upon the other. Their hearts do not beat so strong for liberty as mine. I will call for justice, in the name of the living God, and I shall find an echo in the breast of every human being. (Cheers.)—*Speech delivered by Daniel O'Connell at the Annual Meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society*, 1829.

Man cannot have property in man. Slavery is a nuisance, to be put down, not to be compromised with; and to be assailed without cessation and without mercy by every blow that can be levelled at the monster. * * * * Let general principles be asserted. And as it is the cause of religion and liberty, all that is wanted is the unwearied repetition of zealous advocacy to make it certainly triumphant. Let every man, then, in whatever position he may be placed, do his duty in crushing that hideous tyranny, which rends the husband from the wife, the children from their parents; which enables one human being, at his uncontrolled will, to apply the lash to the back of his fellow-man.—*Speech delivered at the London Anti-Slavery Society*, 1830.

I will now go to America. I have often longed to go there, in reality; but, so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores. (Cheers.) In the course of my parliamentary duty, a few days ago, I had to arraign the conduct of the despot of the North, for his cruelty to the men, women and children of Poland; and I spoke of him with the execration he merits. But, I confess, that although I hate him with as much hatred as one Christian man can hate another human being, viz: I detest his actions with abhorrence unutterable and indescribable; yet there is a climax in my hatred. I would adopt the language of the poet, but reverse the imagery, and say,

"In the deepest hell, there is a depth still more profound,"

and that is to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. (Cheers.) They are the basest of the base—the most execrable of the execrable. I thank God, that upon the wings of the press the voice of so humble an individual as myself will pass against the western breeze—that it will reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America—and that the friends of liberty there will sympathize with me, and rejoice that I here tear down the image of liberty from the recreant hand of America, and condemn her as the vilest of hypocrites—the greatest of liars. (Tremendous cheers.)

When this country most unjustly and tyrannically oppressed its colonies, and insisted that a Parliament of borough-mongers in Westminster should have the power of putting their long fingers across the Atlantic into the pockets of the Americans, taking out as much as they pleased, and, if they found anything, leaving what residuum they chose—America turned round, and appealed to justice, and she was right; appealed to humanity, and she was right; appealed to her own brave sword, and she was right, and I glory in it. At that awful period, when America was exciting all the nations of the world; when she was declaring her independence, and her inhabitants pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and invoked the God of charity (whom they foolishly called the God of battles, which he is not, any more than he is the God of murder)—at that awful period, when they laid the foundation of their liberty, they began with these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Thus the American has acknowledged what he cannot deny, viz., that God the Creator has endowed man with those inalienable rights. But it is not the white man, it is not the copper-colored man, nor is it the black man alone, who is thus endowed; it is all men who are possessed of these inalienable rights. The man, however, who cannot vote in any State assembly without admitting this as the foundation of his liberty, has the atrocious injustice, the murderous injustice, to trample upon these inalienable rights; as it were, to attempt to rob the Creator of his gifts, and to appropriate to himself his brother man, as if he could be his slave. Shame be upon America! eternal shame be upon her escutcheon! (Loud cheers.)

Shortly, there will not be a slave in the British colonies. Five lines in an Act of Parliament, the other night, liberated nearly 500,000 slaves in the East Indies, at a single blow. The West Indians will be obliged to grant emancipation, in spite of the paltry attempts to prevent it; and we will then turn to America, and to every part of Europe, and require emancipation. (Cheers.) No! they must not think that they can boast of their republican institutions—that they can talk of their strength and their glory. Unless they abolish slavery, they must write themselves down liars, or call a general convention of the States, and blot out the first sentence of their Declaration of Independence, and write in its place, "Liberty in America means the power to flog slaves, and to work them for nothing." * * * *

I tell the American slave-owner, that he shall not have silence; for, humble as I am, and feeble as my voice may be, yet deafening the sound of the westerly wave, and riding against the blast as thunder goes, it shall reach America, telling the black man that the time for his emancipation has come, and the oppressor that the period of his injustice is soon to terminate. (Cheers.) * * *

The voice of Europe will proclaim the slave's deliverance, and will say to him, "Shed no blood, but take care that your blood be not shed." (Cheers.)—*Speech delivered at the great Anti-Colonization Meeting in London*, 1833.

He had given the Americans some severe but merited reproofs; for which they had paid him wages in abuse and scurrility. He was satisfied that they had done so. He was accustomed to receive such wages in return for his labors. He had never done good but he was villified for his pains; and he felt that he could not sleep soundly were such opponents to cease abusing him. (Cheers.) He would continue to earn such wages. (Cheers.) By the blessing of God, he would yet trample on the serpent of slave-owning cupidity, and triumph over the hiss of the foul reptile, which marked its agony, and excited his contempt. The Americans in their conduct towards their slaves were traitors to the cause of human liberty, and foul detractors of the democratic principle, which he had cherished throughout his political life, and blasphemers of that great and sacred name which they pretended to reverence. In reprobation of their disgraceful conduct, his public voice had been heard across the wide Atlantic. Like the thunder-storm in its strength, it had careered against the breeze, armed with the lightning of Christian truth. (Great cheering.) And, let them seek to repress it as they may; let them murder and assassinate in the true spirit of lynch law; the storm would wax louder and louder around them, till the claims of justice became too strong to be withstood, and the black man would stand up too big for his chains. It seemed, indeed—he hoped what he was about to say was not profanation—as if the curse of the Almighty had already overtaken them. For the first time in their political history, disgraceful tumult and anarchy had been witnessed in their cities. Blood had been shed without the sanction of law, and even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled—but he was here in danger of becoming political. (Cries of No, no,—go on, and cheers.) Well, then, even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled to taunt the Americans with gross inconsistency and lawless proceedings. He differed from Sir Robert Peel on many points. (Laughter.) Everybody knew that. (Renewed laughter.) It was no doubt presumption in him to differ from so great a man, but yet such was the fact. (Laughter.) On one point, however, he fully agreed with him. Let the proud Americans learn, that all parties in this country unite in condemnation of their conduct; and let them also learn that the worst of all aristocracies is that which prevails in America—an aristocracy which had been aptly denominated that of the human skin. The most insufferable pride was that shown by such an aristocracy. And yet he must confess that he could not understand such pride. He could understand the pride of noble descent. He could understand why a man should plume himself on the success of his ancestors in plundering the people some centuries ago. He could understand the pride arising from immense landed possessions. He could even understand the pride of wealth, the fruit of honest and careful industry. Yet when he thought of the color of the skin making men aristocratic, he felt his astonishment to vie with his contempt. Many a white skin covered a black heart; yet an aristocrat of the skin was the proudest of the proud. Republicans were proverbially proud, and therefore he delighted to taunt the Americans with the superlative meanness, as well as injustice, of their assumed airs of superiority over their black fellow-citizens. (Cheers.) He would continue to hurl his taunts across the Atlantic. And, oh!—but perhaps it was his pride that dictated the hope—*that some black O'Connell might rise among his fellow-slaves*, (tremendous cheers,) who would cry, AGITATE, AGITATE, (renewed cheering.) fill the two millions and a half of his fellow-sufferers learned the secret of their strength—learned that they were two millions and a half. (Enthusiastic cheers.)—*Speech delivered at the Presentation of the Emancipation Society's Address to O'Connell*, 1835.

It is utterly impossible that anything should exist more horrible than the American slave-breeding. The history of it is this: The Americans abolished the foreign slave trade earlier than England, but with this consolation—no small comfort to so money-loving a race as the slaveholders—that by such abolition, they enhanced the price of the slaves then in America, by stopping the competition in the home market of newly imported slaves. Why, otherwise, was not the home trade stopped as well as the foreign? The reply is obvious.

To supply the home slave trade, an abominable, a most hideous, most criminal, and most revolting practice of breeding negroes exclusively for sale, has sprung up, and especially, we are told, in Virginia. There are breeding plantations for producing negroes, as there are with us breeding farms for producing calves and lambs. And as our calf and lamb breeders calculate the number of males of the flock to the females, similar calculations are made by the traffickers in human flesh. One instance was mentioned to me of a human breeding farm in America, which was supplied with two men and twelve women. Why should I pollute my page with a description of all that is immoral and infamous in such practice? But only think of the wretched mothers, whom nature compels to love their children—children torn from them forever, just at the period that they could requite their mother's love! The wretched, wretched mother! Who can depict the mother's distraction and madness? "But their maternal feelings are," says a modern writer, "treated with as much contemptuous indifference as those of the cows and ewes whose calves and lambs are sent to the English market."

That it is which stains the character of the American slaveholder, and leaves the breeder of slaves the most detestable of human beings; especially when that slaveholder is a republican, boasting of freedom, shouting for liberty, and declaring, as the charter of his liberal institutions, these are self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

My sole object in my speech at Birmingham, and present object is to rouse the attention of England and of Europe to all that is cruel, criminal, and, in every sense of the word, infamous, in the system of negro slavery in North America. My deliberate conviction is, that until that system is abolished, no American slaveholder ought to be received on a footing of equality by any of the civilized inhabitants of Europe.—*Letter of Mr. O'Connell to the Editor of the London Morning Chronicle*, 1837.

While they embraced the American Abolitionists as friends and brothers, let none of the slave-owners, dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil! (Cheering.) Let them call upon the Government to protest to America, that they will not receive any slaveholding ambassador. (Loud cheering.) Let them declare that no slave-owner can be admitted into European society. Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, "Murderers, you belong not to us! Away to the desert, and herd with kindred savages!" (Cheers.)—*Speech delivered at the Anti-Slavery Anniversary in London*, 1840.

THE CONDITIONS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Letter to Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

BY ROBERT DALE OWEN.

[Continued.]

The construction of the Republic, part free, part slave! This is a Northern delusion, not a Southern doctrine. The Southern leaders are too clear-sighted to believe in it, and too honest to pretend that they do. They know and declare, if some of their friends here do not, what caused the present insurrection. One of the most intelligent among them, selected as their Vice President, Alexander H. Stephens, speaking for them before a vast audience at Savannah, a few days after his election, publicly said:—

"Negro slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the rock upon which the old Union would split."

Adverting, in the same address, to slavery as having been regarded by the leading revolutionary statesmen to be "wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically," he adds: "This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice."

Additions to the new edifice he tolerates, on certain conditions. Speaking of "accessions from the States of the old Union," he says they can be received "upon no such principle of *reconstruction* as is now spoken of, but upon *reorganization* and new assimilation." And lest this should not sufficiently explain his idea, in alluding to the probability that the "great States of the Northwest shall gravitate this way," he declares: "Our doors are wide enough to receive them, *but not until they are ready to assimilate with us in principle.*"

The terms are plain enough. Southern politicians recognize what you recognized long ago—the irrepressible conflict between the slave labor system of the South and the free labor system of the North. They perceive what you perceived, that a nation, ultimately to avoid civil war, must be all free or all slave. They will permit no additions to the Confederacy except on the basis of its corner-stone—negro slavery. They will receive no accessions of States that do not assimilate their institutions to those of the new edifice. States desiring to join them shall come in admitting slavery, or not at all. Such States must agree to Chief-Justice Taney's opinion, that there is "no difference between property in a slave and other property"; therefore, that the owner of a slave has a right to take him where he pleases, and a right to his service and labor for life, no matter where that life may be spent. Thus assimilated in principle to the Confederacy, other States are deemed worthy to join it. Without such assimilation, they are to be rejected; prudently and properly rejected, by slaveholders who are determined to remain such; for an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable can produce only strifes and heart-burnings; inevitably eventuating, as we have seen them eventuate, in civil war.

Wise are these men in their generation! Statesmen are they, in running out their conclusions, if only custom and tradition had not deluded them into one foundation principle, monstrously false. Frank, too, and bold do they show themselves, in announcing that principle. No paltry temporizing! No tame apologies! "Slavery," they declare, "is the natural and moral condition of the negro. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth." (Address of Alexander H. Stephens already quoted. See Putnam's Rebellion Record, Vol. 1, page 45 of Documents.)

Concede this, the postulate of their system, and all the rest is strictly logical.

Concede but this, and South Carolina's Declaration of Independence* is a document stamped with forecast, and entitled to commendation. Whoever drafted it ran out his premises to their logical results. The Convention that adopted it saw their way before them, and did not, like their weak sympathizers in the North, expect incompatibilities.

Having set up their "great philosophical truth," the corner-stone of their political system, they saw clearly that they must insure it respect; that they must protect it from attack or condemnation; and they perceived that this could not be done if they maintained fellowship with the North. "The non-slaveholding States," they declare, "have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery." This, from citizens of the same Republic, they cannot permit; nor, except by secession from the non-slaveholding States, can they prevent it. "All hope of remedy"—thus their Declaration concludes—"all hope of remedy is rendered vain by the fact, that public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief."

Wise, in their generation, are South Carolina and the States that followed her lead! Building their political system upon a "great philosophical and moral truth," which (unfortunately, they say) the rest of the civilized world still regards as a flagrant moral falsehood, they can maintain the stability of their political edifice only by debarring all questions, all discussions that might assault and endanger its foundations. As in despotic monarchies, it was found necessary to declare it to be treason, punishable as a capital offence, to question the right divine of kings, so in a slave empire they see it to be indispensable to forbid, on pain of death, all opinions touching the sinfulness or inconsistency with religion, of slavery. Twenty-five years ago they dedeclared, from their places in Congress, that in spite of the Federal Government, every abolitionist they caught should die a felon's death.† It was no idle menace, as hundreds of murders for opinion's sake, committed in the South before the war, terribly attest.

Let us not blame the men, except it be for seeking to uphold the monstrous system handed down to them by their forefathers. They *must* resist the Federal authority to maintain that system. They *must* violate the constitutional provision which forbids to abridge "the liberty of speech or of the press." Self-defence and its necessities compel them. They found this necessary before the war, in order to save slavery from destruction; the necessity will be increased, beyond measure, after its close. Now that the President's proclamation of Emancipation has stirred up in every Southern plantation the latent longing for freedom, the dangers to their slave system from propagandism will be increased a hundred fold.

It follows that in this Republic, if reconstructed half slave, half free, no man known to be opposed in principle to slavery will be able to cross Mason and Dixon's line without imminent risk of life. South of that line, the constitutional provision touching the liberty of speech and of the press will remain inoperative. A felon's death will await every resident or traveller in the South who prints or who utters, in public or in private, any denial that slavery is just and moral, any assertion that religion does not sanction it. The Constitution guarantees the right thus to print, thus to speak. The Federal government is bound to maintain that constitutional right. But it *cannot* maintain it in a republic half slave, half free. What then? Can a free government sustain itself—can a free nation continue to exist—under such a state of things as that? Certainly not.

The South, seeing this, declared all hope of remedy to be vain. Her friends in the North, groping after reconstruction with slavery, are still stricken with judicial blindness.

Let us pass to another matter. In South Carolina's "Declaration of Causes" for secession, one of the chief (set forth as justifying and necessitating separation) is "the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery." This, it is declared, the slaveholding States cannot permit, because, whenever it shall occur, the "Federal government will have become their enemy." ("Declaration of Causes," already quoted: Rebellion Record, Vol. 1, Documents, p. 4.)

To satisfy the South so that she shall permit us again to unite with her, it is evident that we must do one of two things: either consent so to amend the Constitution that no man shall be eligible as President, "whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery"; or else make up our minds to a second insurrection the first time a President with such opinions happens to be elected. The constitutional amendment, our first alternative, would be an infamy, if it were a possibility; the second alternative would be to accept peace on condition of abandoning forever freedom of election. The South does not so thoroughly despise us as to believe, for a moment, that we shall accept either.

But the very head and front of our former offending against the South remains yet untouched on, the loose manner, namely, in which she alleges that the Fugitive Slave law has heretofore been enforced. This, our offence, was so grievous in the eyes of South Carolina that she put it forth, in her Declaration, as the first, and in itself the all-sufficient cause for separation; adding: "Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken, and South Carolina is released from her obligation." (Declaration of Causes, Rebellion Record, Vol. 1, Documents, p. 4.)

What chance, even the remotest, is there that, with slavery and freedom in political partnership, this rock of offence will be avoided hereafter? Let us, for a moment, imagine that the Emancipation proclamation has no force in law. Nevertheless, its glad tidings have penetrated to the remotest haunts of Southern slavery. To the slave it is a reality. In his heart it has called up the assurance—the fervent hope, at least—that if he can but once elude the vigilance of his master, there is yet freedom for him on this side of the grave. That hope once awakened throughout the length and breadth of the insurrectionary States, can it ever again be put to rest? Is it not certain that, under its promptings—no matter how firmly we shall have re-established slavery by law—these bondmen will cross the border by thousands, for hundreds that have sought refuge among us till now? And when they do pass into that land whose President proclaimed them freemen, and where twenty abolitionists are to be found now, for every one that was there on the day Fort Sumter fell, will there be increased cheerfulness, greater willingness to aid in their rendition—than there was before the war began? What a mockery is the question! On what a foundation of quicksand do they build, who found their hopes of future peace on the expectation that a Fugitive Slave law will be more stringently enforced in the future than in the past—on the vain dream that Northern spirit, flushed with victory, will find no occupation more noble than to pursue and secure poor fugitives, deluded by a national promise basely broken, and who had been urged to flight by belief in our humanity, and confidence in our truth!

The South indulges in no such idle dream. She sees and she accepts the inevitable. Well she knows and wisely she has declared, that "all hope of remedy is rendered vain by the fact, that public opinion at the North has invested (what she considers) a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief."

Thus, then, it stands. The South, with eyes sharpened by self-interest, saw that an experiment which never had succeeded in the world before was about to fail here also; the experiment of sustaining, in perpetuity, side by side, under the same government, two conflicting labor systems. She saw that her "philosophical truth" must be accepted as the corner-stone, or else altogether rejected by the builders. She saw that the North would *not* accept it. She saw that public opinion at the North would continue to condemn it as sinful and unchristian. She saw that the North would never consent to have freedom of speech and of the press suspended throughout half the Republic. She saw that the pride of the North would never submit to the passage of a constitutional amendment making anti-slavery opinions a disqualification for the Presidency. She saw that under any plan of reconstruction short of assimilation of labor systems, Fugitive Slave law difficulties would increase, in number and bitterness, year and year.

She saw, in fine, that the path which for three-quarters of a century the North and South have been travelling together—of late, at every step, more and more beset with obstacles and dangers—had become wholly impracticable at last.

Between Slavery and National Unity was her only choice. She selected and emblazoned slavery; drew the sword, and severed the political bonds which connected her with the free States.

If she succeed in defeating us, she is entitled to her separate independence. If we prevail against her, shall we force her again to accompany us on that impracticable path which her forecast taught her to abandon?

Shall we tempt her again into fellowship by an offer to restore to her her constitutional rights, and a promise to maintain intact her system of slave-labor? Vanquished, exhausted, but with her convictions unchanged, she might agree to such an armistice. Permanent she knows well it could never be; but she knows also the vast advantage, in her present prostrate condition, of two or three years' breathing time. Shall we offer her an opportunity so excellent to recruit her strength and replenish her resources?

I do not ask if there be common sense in that proposition; I ask *if we have the right to make it.* I pass by the folly involved in such an offer, to speak, for a moment, of its iniquity. (*To be concluded.*)

* "Declaration of causes which induced the secession of South Carolina," adopted Dec. 21, 1860. See Putnam's Rebellion Record, Vol. 1, Documents, pp. 3, 4.

† "Let an Abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, if we can catch him, we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments on earth, including the Federal government, we will hang him."—*Senator Preston in debate in U.S. Senate, Jan.*, 1838.

"If chance throw an Abolitionist in our way, he may expect a felon's death.—*Senator Hammond of South Carolina, in U. S. Senate*, 1836.

THE RESULTS OF THE REBELLION.

It was the silly boast, for many years before the commencement of the rebellion in the South, that the people of the Northern States were an inferior race; that the South was the birthplace of a race of gentlemen, and the North produced naught but grasping men of commerce, without refinement, without education, with no intelligence except that for scraping together the dollars; and so the people of the South revelled in the idea of their superiority, and had learned to look upon the North almost as a dependency. When the rebellion first reared its venomous head, the South prophesied the speedy downfall of the loyal States. They affirmed that one rebel was worth three Northern soldiers, and indulged with evident pleasure in the idea that ruin was soon to overtake rash and misguided men who dared to suppose that they could successfully compete with the chivalrous and altogether superior race claiming the South as their birthplace. Grass was to grow in the streets of the Northern capitals; the prosperity of the North was to dwindle down—in fact, a total cessation of commerce was inevitable. The hotels and watering places, deprived of the patronage of the South, were to fall to decay. Utter desolation and ruin were to overtake the loyal States, who madly imagined that the South could be coerced.

How different has been the result so far of the rebellion! Throughout the North, there is a prosperity so enormous as almost to challenge belief. Never before was money so plentiful, commerce so extended; never before has the travel upon our railways and steamers been so great; never before have our hotels and watering places been so crowded. Our places of amusement are enjoying a share of public patronage such as never before fell to their lot. We see on all sides evidences of a prosperity and rapidly increasing wealth such as must astound the world. No foreigner arriving now in New York could for a moment imagine that we are carrying on at this moment the most tremendous struggle the world ever witnessed; that we are keeping up armies in such numbers as would bankrupt any European government, while we are perfectly aware that as yet our resources have not been seriously called into effect. We now know our real power, our enormous strength, and almost wonder ourselves at their extent.

The people of the South fondly imagined that on their side would be found all the great generals, naval heroes and statesmen. The rebellion in its course has proved the fallacy of these opinions. The South has produced but one really great soldier, and he is gone—we refer to Stonewall Jackson; while the North has now such generals as Grant, Banks, Rosecrans, Meade, Gillmore, and others of great promise, whereupon to count in time of need. As sailors, we have Farragut, Dupont, Porter, Worden, Rodgers, Blake, Foote, (whom we have lost, but whose record is so glorious,) not to mention a host of others whose merits are well known and appreciated by our people. In the face of these facts the world will say that it is the North that has produced the greatest number of men of note, and that it is the North which possesses the resources and the power. The South has known the miseries of war. The privations and desolations of war have taught them that lesson which their vanity would not admit. They now realize that in the North were the power, enterprise and strength of the great American republic, which their parricidal efforts can never destroy. This and many an equally bitter lesson has the rebellion taught the misguided, rash, unthinking people of the South, who must have learned that chivalry and courage, patriotism and good faith, are the attributes of the loyal States of the North.—*New York Herald.*

MR. SEWARD'S CIRCULAR.

Secretary Seward has issued a very able and a very cheering Circular to our Foreign Ministers, presenting a truthful and satisfactory view of the progress of our arms against the Rebellion, and the present condition of National Affairs. Its comprehensive conclusion is in the following words:—

It will be seen that since the breaking out of the insurrection, the Government has extended its former sway over and through a region of two hundred thousand square miles, an area as large as Austria or France, or the peninsula of Spain and Portugal. The insurgents lost in the various field and siege operations of the month of July which I have described, one third of their whole forces.

Jefferson Davis, the leader of the sedition, has since proclaimed a levy of all the able-bodied men within his military lines. This, if carried into effect, will exhaust the whole material of which soldiers can be made. The insurgents estimate the total number of conscripts thus to be gained at from 70,000 to 95,000. Our armies now confront the insurgents at all points with superior numbers. A draft for 300,000 more is in progress to replace those whose terms of service have expired, and to fill up the wasted ranks of our veteran regiments, and the people, just so fast as the evidence of the necessity for that measure is received and digested, submit with cheerfulness to the ascertained demands. Our armies everywhere are well equipped, abundantly fed, and supplied with all the means of transportation. The soldiers of two years' service bear themselves as veterans, and show greater steadiness in every conflict. The men, accustomed to the camp, and hardened by exercise and experience, make marches which would have been impossible in the beginning of the contest. The nation is becoming familiar with arms, and easily takes on the habits of war. Large voluntary enlistments continually augment our military force. All supplies are abundantly and cheaply purchased within our lines. The country shows no signs of exhaustion of money, material or men. A requisition for 6,200 remount horses was filled and the animals dispatched from Washington all in four days. Our loan is purchased at par by our own citizens, at the average rate of $1,200,000 daily. Gold sells, in our market, at 123 to 128, while in the insurrectionary region it commands 1,200 per cent premium.

Every insurgent port is either blockaded, besieged, or occupied by the national forces. The field of the projected Confederacy is divided by the Mississippi. All the fortifications on its banks are in our hands, and its flood is patrolled by the national fleet.

Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland—all slave States—support the Federal Government. Missouri has already in Convention ordained the gradual abolition of slavery, to take effect at the expiration of seven years. Four-fifths of Tennessee, two-thirds of Virginia, the coasts and sounds of North Carolina, half of Mississippi and half of Louisiana, with all their large cities, part of Alabama, and the whole sea-coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and no inconsiderable part of the coast of Florida, are held by the United States. The insurgents, with the slaves whom they yet hold in defiance of the President's Proclamation, are now crowded into the central and southern portions of Virgin-

ia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, while the pioneer slaveholding insurgents beyond the Mississippi are cut off from the main force. On the other hand, although it is less than six months since the laws or customs of the United States would allow a man of African descent to bear arms in defence of his country, there are now in the field 22,000 regularly enlisted, armed, and equipped soldiers of that class, while 50 regiments of 2,000 each are in process of organization, and 62,800 persons of the same class are employed as teamsters, laborers, and camp followers. These facts show that, as the insurrection continues, the unfortunate servile population, which was at the beginning an element of its strength, is being transferred to the support of the Union.

You will use the facts presented in this paper in such a way as may be most effective to convince those who seek a repewal of commercial prosperity through the restoration of peace in America, that the quickest and shortest way to gain that desirable end is to withdraw support and favor from the insurgents, and to leave the adjustment of our domestic controversies exclusively with the people of the United States.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

OHIO AND VALLANDIGHAM.

We shall soon have to divide our attention and our interest between the fields of war and the fields of peace—between the victories won by bullets and those gained by ballots. Victories of Peace may not be more renowned than those of War—although we have Milton's word for it—but they are often more important and decisive. Indeed, the one may be entirely thrown away without the other.

But of all the elections, everywhere, which are to pass upon the action of the government in the management of the war, and especially upon its Emancipation measure, that of the State of Ohio is the most important, and will be regarded, by friend and foe, as the most conclusive. There the battle is formally and openly joined. The fight there is as distinctly between loyalty and treason as it is in South Carolina. The name of Jefferson Davis does not stand more unmistakably for treason than does that of Vallandigham. He was selected as the candidate of the Democracy—as the copperhead traitors impudently call themselves—for no reason excepting that he had been tried, convicted and banished for his sympathy with the rebels and his activity in their behalf. He was deliberately chosen as a representative man, who incarnated the idea of pro-slavery submissionism, of ending the war by a surrender to our enemies, leaving them as strong as before the war, and stronger, if possible. The slaveholders never had a more blatant, supple, unscrupulous and active tool than he, during their days of dominion, and since their eclipse. It is discreditable to the last Congress that he was not expelled from the House for his treasonable words spoken in his place. It is honorable to the district he misrepresented that it rejected him when he applied for a seat in the next Congress. We may, perhaps, draw a favorable augury from that result as to the issue of the imminent election. But too much confidence must not be reposed upon that circumstance. The public to which he now appeals is one vastly larger, and involves an infinitely greater variety of interests and passions. Besides, the copperhead demonstration has developed itself greatly, and made whatever headway it has done, since last autumn. Doubly and trebly, yea, a hundred fold more disgraceful would be his success, even in his old district, now than then. How much more then, his triumph in the whole of the great State of Ohio, at this late day of the rebellion! It is a disgrace and a calamity which we trust is to be spared the State and the nation. Its consequences would extend far and wide beyond the limits of Ohio, and may possibly have a long enduring effect upon our history, our prosperity, and our honor.

But, in order to avert this calamity, and all the evil consequences which must follow in its train, there is work, and much work, to be done. That the enemy are busy in their vocation of mischief, we know well enough. If they do not succeed, it will not be from any neglect of the means of success. A lesson should be taken out of their book, and the teaching which it is lawful to receive from an enemy be wisely accepted. Shall the children of this world be forever wiser in their generation than the children of light? We trust not, though the history of the country is not very full of encouragement in this particular. The energies of every loyal man in Ohio, of every former name and nature, should be given to this work, while it is yet day. They cannot employ themselves more effectually for the suppression of the rebellion, and the establishment of the supremacy and territorial unity of the nation, than in making the defeat of Vallandigham an utter and hopeless rout, from which there can be no recovery. Every vote given against him is a blow aimed at Jefferson Davis; every one cast in his favor is meant, and will be accounted, as one thrown for the arch-rebel. It will be so reckoned in Richmond, in London, and in Paris. He should not merely be beaten—he should be politically annihilated, ground to powder, and given to the four winds, so that he can never be collected together again into a candidate. And by him we mean the copperhead party of which he is the embodied symbol. Individually, he is of small importance, perhaps; but as the color-bearer of treason in the West, he rises into gigantic proportions. We trust that every loyal man in Ohio, every hater of slavery, every friend of the interests of his State and the nation, will not be found wanting at this cardinal moment. And this is not the business of Ohio, only. It comes home to us all everywhere. We do not know what the Loyal Leagues lately instituted are doing, and that diligently and continually. They should be deluging the whole State of Ohio with tracts and documents, and rousing "every log-house beyond the mountains," as well as every great town and city, by the voice of the living speaker. The agitation of the great interests and the vital issues involved in this election should never be suffered to abate or grow cold. Money and labor could hardly be better spent for the next few weeks than in fighting and winning this Victory of Peace. The result of that stricken field may simplify or complicate greatly the impending solution of our enigma. We trust that no anti-slavery man will be slack or slothful in this day of duty.

We do not think that we exaggerate the importance of the Ohio election. Those of Pennsylvania, and Maine, and New York, and all other States are of great moment; but nowhere has the issue been so deliberately made up as in Ohio. Nowhere else has a candidate been so impudently picked out because of his traitorous predilections, and because there could be no denying or disguising the meaning of his success. And the nearer the substantial victories of the nation over the rebellion bring us to its extinction, the more essential is it that there should be no mistake as to the way in which the people intend that it shall be concluded. The people must not have the fruits of their victories filched from them by the politicians. We believe that the Ohio troops are to be allowed their suffrage in this election, and we have no fear as to the sense it will express. They have not been exposing their lives to the *malaria* of swamps and the bayonets of the rebels for the purpose of putting Jeff. Davis's foot upon their necks in the person of his servant Vallandigham. The importance of the emphatic expression of approval of the President's Proclamation at this time, when the rebels' arms have all but failed, lies in the evident purpose their friends now entertain of supplementing that failure by what the Democrats used to denounce as "Judge-made Law." Gov. Seymour accepts Mr. Lincoln's alternative, that, if the proclamation were not legal, it needs no recall, and joins issue with him on that point. The Supreme Court is the last hope of Slavery and its minions. Its past history does not make their hope an absurd one. It has always reflected the opinion of the governing class in its constitutional law. If the opinion of the governing class should appear to have changed, may we not believe that the authentic oracles may utter new responses when applied to under new conditions? At any rate, a strong expression of approval of the policy of Emancipation at the polls, in Ohio and everywhere else, will make military and civil aspirants after office feel that Anti-Slavery, and not Pro-Slavery, is now the path that is to lead to that paradise. And thus the whole question may be happily disposed of before the Supreme Court can get a chance at it. But, in every point of view, the duty lying nearest to every loyal man in Ohio is to see to it that the enemy is to have no comfort or encouragement through his supineness or negligence. And if this truth be but brought home to them all, we have small fear as to the result.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

"THE BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION."

Under the above heading, the Nashville (Tenn.) *Union* gives expression to the following common-sense views and noble sentiments. They are the views and sentiments of all the *true* Union men of the Slavery-cursed South. They haven't the same tender regard for the "peculiar institution" which is entertained for it by our solicitous Copperheads and tender-footed Conservatives in the Free North. But let us read what this leading organ of the Unconditional Unionists of the South says:—

"The pro-slavery Unionists, a very small and rapidly diminishing party, labor under the preposterous delusion that when the Union shall be restored, the slaveholders will obtain all the guaranties they desire, in addition to all the old and cumbersome machinery which the old nation was formerly put under bonds to run for their exclusive benefit. The only basis these conservative gentlemen can see is the protection of the slave property of their "Southern brethren." The people have had quite enough of this, and very generally think that an institution which demands the possession and direction not only of the local government of the States where it exists, but of all the other State governments, and the Federal government itself, is a nuisance and an imposition, and should be abated. For it is not enough for slavery that it should control all the slave States and the national government, but every governor, legislature, and sheriff, from the Ohio river to the Canada line and the Atlantic coast, must be an obsequious servant and slave-catcher for the slaveholder. There never can be a restoration of the Union on such a basis as the revival of the African code. It is idle to talk of harmonizing on the very ground of disunion.

It is incomprehensible why any man who desires a reconstruction of the Union, and the establishment of harmony between the various sections, should select as the basis of restoration the very thing about which there has been for three generations the fiercest dispute, and which at least 27,000,000 out of 30,000,000 of the American people, to say nothing of all christendom abroad, thoroughly detest. Do the pro-slavery Unionists hold slavery to be more valuable than the Union, that they ask that the government shall be in the future, as in the past, the servant instead of the master of that unpopular system?

Slavery is to be protected by new guaranties, if asked for, and all fugitives are to be surrendered. Is that the proposition? Well, we may consent to it when Jeff. Davis gives back to the United States her two hundred thousand manly sons who have lost their lives in quelling this heinous rebellion against free government. Never until then! We advise our friends to be quiet on the subject of slavery protection. The country has had a little too much of it already. The day for such protection is past; we have paid a heavy price in blood for that sort of work already, and do not care to repeat the exhausting process.

There is one broad, elevated basis of restoration, which is strong as adamant, and on which the people may all securely stand. It is the principle which underlies our government and all its institutions. That principle is *freedom.* Everybody admits that freedom is right as a principle, and nearly everybody admits that slavery is wrong as a principle. Now freedom and slavery are the warring elements which have brought about this contest. Each is struggling for the mastery. What shall we take as the basis of harmony and restoration; the principle which everybody approves, or the principle which hardly anybody approves? Shall we adopt the method of an oligarchy, and let slavery rule? Shall the many yield to the few, or the few to the many? Whose interests, tastes and prejudices are to be consulted, those of three hundred thousand persons, or those of twenty seven millions? It is not in the nature of slavery to be at peace with anything. It is like the pike which is said to devour all other fishes. Suppose slavery be reinstated in its old authority, what then? Shall we have peace, or war, in consequence? Let us take Tennessee for an example. A restoration of the State upon the slavery basis would instantly revive an ultra pro-slavery party throughout the middle and western divisions. No candidate could be elected, or appointed to any office, who was not intensely pro-slavery. Slavery would be the only topic discussed in the newspapers, or on the stump. The odious laws of the old slave code, the more summary rules of Judge Lynch, would be enforced against every writer or speaker who should venture to question the justice or policy of slavery. It is also certain that every man who supported the present Republican administration, either directly or indirectly, in a civil or military capacity, would be forever excluded from all positions of trust and profit by the slavery faction.

Now, does any sensible loyal man desire to see Tennessee restored to the Union in any such way as this, in which the elements of discord are all increased, and their fury aggravated instead of being lessened? One might as well try to cure a patient of a raging fever by making him drink boiling water, and hold red hot iron. The lust of power, the thirst for gain, the distrust of all interests except its own, and its consequent efforts to monopolize all political power, would grow out of slavery in future, just as they did before, and would in a brief space engender another rebellion, more dangerous, because better planned, than the present one. We see but one safe basis of restoration. It is the basis of freedom incorporated in our national edifice, approved by sage experience, and heartily applauded by the immense majority of the people.

It may be asked, why attach so much importance to the final adjustment of the slavery question in restoring the Union? Because it is the only point of difference between the various States possessing any significance. No other question prevents the immediate reunion of the discordant States. It is for slavery only that the Southern States can be united, and it is against slavery only that the Northern States can be united. Remove this cause of the controversy, and the several portions of the republic will spring together and become firmly consolidated. California and Oregon, far off on the Pacific, though surrounded by vast wildernesses and lofty mountain ranges from the sister States, and over two thousand miles distant from the national capital, are bound fast to the fortunes of the republic by the golden chain of freedom, whose links, consisting of education, morality and progress, are stronger than Jupiter's

"Golden everlasting chain
Whose strong embrace holds heaven and earth and main."

But taint those noble States with the curse of negro bondage, and they too would fall as South Carolina into the black and seething whirlpool of disunion. Yes, carry out honestly the great principle of freedom on which this government was founded. Make the States free, and thus congenial in feeling. It is a step forward in the path of virtue. Free speech, free schools, free newspapers, free labor, and free institutions—these are the agencies by which all internal dissensions will be virtually removed, and this best of governments rendered perpetual."

A CATHOLIC ORGAN ON SLAVERY.

Rev. Edward Purcell, editor of the Catholic *Telegraph*, published at Cincinnati, in a late issue uses the following language in relation to slavery:—

"We never raised a hand against it; no word of any Catholic editor assailed it, so long as it would be unjust and illegal to do so; but now that it is dead—dead by the act of its admirers—we will not consent to see its body festering on the highways.

"Let it be buried out of sight forever; let it rest with all its horrors in the grave; let its memory fade from the recollection of men. It was an outrage against humanity, such as the history of no other people could exhibit. There was something manly in the old custom of reducing to slavery him whose sword had been beaten down by a stronger arm on the battle-field; there was a show of justice in reducing to bondage the debtor who could not pay his creditor; but, for American slavery, there was no excuse. It was a monster crime—from the seizure of the African in his own land to the moment of his death, when his body was wasted by toil, rather than disease, to uphold the luxury of a master!

"Well, it has fallen; and we are called 'abolitionist,' because we refuse our consent to its resuscitation! We are proud of being called so, under circumstances so creditable to the mind and heart. May we ever deserve the name! We will bear its stigma joyfully through life, and carry it into eternity with honor. We struggle in a holy cause—the cause of religion and of the human race."

☞ It is gratifying to know that there is one Catholic journal in this country that is on the side of freedom, humanity and justice.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1863.

THE IRISH POPULATION.

The relation of the Irish population to the cause of emancipation and free institutions in this country is one calculated to challenge serious attention, and to excite general anxiety. Numerically they are formidable, counting their numbers by millions; politically, with the ballot largely in their hands, their power is great, because they vote almost as a unit, captivated and deluded by the term "democracy," and constituting at the present time the great body of the democratic, alias the copperhead party. As a mass, they are without education, very poor, under the absolute control of superstition and priestcraft, and, consequently, greatly demoralized. In their native land, they had no advantages of education, no remunerative employment, no hope of ever bettering their condition; and, seeing starvation, like a hideous spectre, constantly staring them in the face—broken in spirit and desperate for change—they have come, annually, by hundreds of thousands to the United States, where, with nothing homogeneous in their ideas or aims, and yet speedily admitted to the enjoyment of the elective franchise, they have a controlling power in shaping the destiny of the republic, and are the only class, outside of rebeldom, that imminently threatens the stability of republican institutions. What those institutions require for their preservation, on the score of intelligence, sobriety, virtue, self-control, they neither understand nor care to learn. Now that they are firmly rooted here, they begin to assume airs, and to put forth claims, utterly incompatible with good citizenship. In Ireland, they knew nothing of prejudice or malevolence against the negro race. A negro has ever been as well treated in that country as a white man; and it is among the dreadful results of American slavery, that it has infected the minds of the Irish, who have come over here, with a colorphobia far surpassing in venom and brutality even that which so disgracefully characterizes native-born Americans. They are utterly ferocious in spirit towards the unoffending colored people, lose no opportunity to anathematize and assail them, regard it as a crime to give them any employment, make cause with those who enslave them, and would drive them out of the country if they had the power. One would naturally conclude that the Irish, who have so long suffered as a proscribed race, would warmly sympathize with another class still more despised and most grievously oppressed; but, instead of this, they show themselves to be the most inhuman of all the enemies of the colored race. Witness their horrible atrocities in the late riots at New York!

Nevertheless, we entertain for them nothing but the utmost good will and the deepest compassion. Verily, "they know not what they do." Our moral indignation is directed wholly against those who take advantage of their ignorance and credulity to make them subserve the cause of injustice and oppression; such, for example, as the editors and publishers of such Catholic journals as the New York *Metropolitan Record* and the Boston *Pilot*—journals that, from week to week, contain the vilest misrepresentations of the Abolitionists, the most contemptuous expressions towards the colored race, and that leave nothing undone to stir up all that is base and brutal in the minds of the Irish, to be wreaked upon both these classes. And such is the reading, such the instruction they give, with satanic perverseness and terrible effect. But they will find that this is to sow the wind, and at last to reap the whirlwind. They are exciting against the whole Irish population the strongest dislike, the most thorough distrust, the liveliest apprehension, and the most enduring prejudice; and if they persist in their evil course, an unescapable retribution will overtake them.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for October, makes its usually prompt appearance, and its contents are alike interesting and valuable—as follows:—

1. Charles Lamb's Uncollected Writings. 2 My Palace. 3. The Deacon's Holocaust. 4. The United States Armory. 5. The Pewee. 6. Mrs. Lewis. 7. The Conquest of Cuba. 8. Equinoctial. 9. The Legend of Monte del Diablo. 10. Life without Principle. 11. Barbara Frietchie. 12. A Letter to Thomas Carlyle. 13. Voluntaries. 14. Our Domestic Relations. 15. Reviews and Literary Notices.

The writers in the present number are Charles Sumner, John G. Whittier, Ralph W. Emerson, the late H. D. Thoreau, J. T. Trowbridge, J. P. Quincy, D. A. Wasson, F. D. Hedge, C. C. Hazewell, Mrs. Hopkinson, Mrs. Whitney, G. B. Prescott.

The paper which will doubtless attract the most attention is Hon. Charles Sumner's article on "Our Domestic Relations." He outlines his idea of reconstruction, coming to the general conclusion that the State governments have been "vacated by the rebellion," and that the whole rebel region, deprived of all local government, lapses under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress precisely as any other territory.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY, for October, contains the following articles:—The Freedom of the Press, by Edward B. Freeland; The Brothers—an Allegory; Unuttered, by Kate Putnam; William Lilly, Astrologer, by Henry Willson; Jefferson Davis—Repudiation, Recognition, and Slavery—by Robert J. Walker; Diary of Frances Krasinska; Maiden's Dreaming, by E. W. C.; Thirty Days with the Seventy-first Regiment; Reason, Rhyme and Rythm, by Mrs. Martha W. Cook; Currency and the National Finances, by J. Smith Homans; October Afternoon in the Highlands; The Isle of Springs, by Rev. Mr. Starbuck; The Restoration of the Union, by F. P. Stanton; Was He Successful? by Richard B. Kimball; American Finances and Resources, by Robert J. Walker; Voiceless Singers; A Detective's Story.

Mr. Walker's two papers in this number contain a great amount of valuable information. His second letter on Jefferson Davis and Repudiation gives the promised history of the Planters' Bank Swindle, and produces abundant evidence to show that Davis not only palliated and excused, but justified the repudiation of the Mississippi bonds. The present aspect of the case is thus described:—

"The whole debt, principal and interest, now due by the State of Mississippi, including the Planters' and Union Bank bonds, exceeds 11,250,000 dollars (2,250,000 pounds.) Not a dollar of principal or interest has been paid by the State for more than a fourth of a century on any of these bonds. The repudiation is complete and final, so long as slavery exists in Mississippi."

☞ We have received Part XXXIV. of the REBELLION RECORD—a Diary of American Events, 1860–'62, edited by Frank Moore. This number is illustrated with portraits of Major-General Sedgwick and General O. O. Howard. Its documentary papers come down to January 1. G. P. Putnam, Publisher, 441 Broadway—Charles T. Evans, General Agent, 448 Broadway.

LIEUT. RITCHIE. Extract from a letter, written to a friend in this city by a soldier of the 54th Reg. Mass. Colored Volunteers, dated Morris Island, S. C., Sept. 7th:—

"I see no mention made of Lieut. John Ritchie, who rushed back and forth through the rain of shot, shell and bullets, and, after the fight, went all over that awful plain, seeking for the body of Col. Shaw, our noble friend and commander."

Lieut. Ritchie was directly instrumental in saving the life of Lieut. Col. Hallowell, who was badly wounded in the same desperate assault upon Fort Wagner. As Quartermaster of the 54th, no better or more indefatigable and trustworthy officer is in the field than himself. He is highly esteemed by all who know him.

TOO LATE.

The self-evident lie, that Jeff. Davis was about to free and arm a host of slaves to fight for the Confederacy, has crossed the water in its travels, and is now coming home to roost. The English press, of course, was divided between accepting and rejecting the absurd report. They lent it no credit who had the sense to read suicide in an act of emancipation by a State of which slavery was at once the corner-stone and normal social condition; or who failed to recognize the connection between the means of freedom and the end of political supremacy founded on a system of bondage. The Tory journals, on the contrary, with a credulity which is the offspring of their ardor in behalf of men-stealers, swallowed the bait without a question; and whereas, in President Lincoln's Proclamation of January 1st, and his subsequent policy of raising negro regiments, they had found only the grossest inhumanity and barbarism, they now applauded the intention of the arch-rebel as a master-stroke of policy, whose moral effect on Europe would be incalculable. They will learn quickly enough how vain is their exultation—how dull they are of comprehension. The hour has passed when was possible the mockery of a slave taking arms to rivet his own claims more tightly. That hour sounded one year ago this week, and almost day. Then, between the President's warning of Sept. 22d and the imperishable act of New Year's day, we did have fears that the rebel leaders might content themselves with separation instead of conquest; might, for the sake of a disrupted Union, throw away, or pretend to throw away, their hopes of empire over a slave-ridden land. By summoning their hapless bondmen to freedom and to battle, they could have rendered impossible the military subjugation of the South, and would in all probability have secured at once the recognition and moral and material support of foreign nations. The time was favorable. The Federal Government had not yet appeared to the straining eyes in the Southern prison-house as savior and deliverer. Its treatment of the fugitive was marked with cruel uncertainty and inconsistency; and the policy of each General or his underlings passed for law in his department. Cases of shocking outrage were of common occurrence, and the numerous victims returned to the vengeance of their masters were the couriers of distrust in our advancing armies, and in the flag which covered them. The time was favorable and ample, but it was unimproved; and it is now too late.

Yes, all too late are the efforts, North or South, to preserve the patriarchal institution in America. Slavery, of all social systems, cannot afford to be disturbed; and yet, in no single State of the old Union does it remain as it was before the outbreak of the rebellion. Wherever our armies have penetrated, the relation of master and slave has either been completely annihilated or fundamentally altered: our armies are still marching on! Of the Border States, Missouri is united upon the necessity of emancipation—divided upon the means. Maryland is agitating the same question, urged to it by the awakening sense of her best citizens, and by her uncomfortable position between the free District of Columbia and the free State of Pennsylvania. Already a black regiment, raised from her midst, has paraded the streets of her chief city, hardly yet dry from the blood of Northern soldiery. Already her fugitives, who escape *en masse*, begin to arm themselves with muskets, and to use them in case of hindrance. Delaware has an emancipationist for her Governor. So has Tennessee, at whose capital is encamped, (if it be not already with Rosecrans,) a newly-formed negro regiment, pioneer of many to spring up shortly under the auspices of the War Department as embodied in Major Stearns. Black troops are the ministers of retributive justice in destroying Charleston, the focus of rebellion and slavery. Black troops preserved to us the city of New Orleans, and now stand guard at Vicksburg, Port Hudson and Baton Rouge. Slavery is doomed. Come struggle, come quiet, the sum of all villanies is crumbling into the mould of a past

——"that was full of wrongs and of shames,
Horrible, hateful, monstrous, not to be told."

No promise of freedom to the ear—no bribe to foreign sympathy—no success in the field, even—can disappoint, however much postpone, this consummation, which is the prayer of all good men, and the just demand of the present age.—W. P. G.

A GREAT BLUNDER CORRECTED.

A highly esteemed friend in England writes to us as follows:—

"I am sure we shall agree that, in the present state of feeling existing in your country against England, it is desirable that no mistakes in matters of fact should be permitted to aggravate any existing prejudices. You will therefore not object, I am confident, to my pointing out to you an extraordinary misstatement in the *Liberator* of August 7th, which cannot but mislead those of your readers who do not know better about the whole theory and spirit of the political institutions of England. It is for you to judge how to set the matter right.

In the article on Mr. Bright's reply to Mr. Roebuck, (first page,) the writer says—

"Mr. John Bright, emphatically one of the people, is the most effective of English Parliamentary speakers; but, because he has sprung from the industrial classes, he has not the most remote chance of being invited, even should his liberal principles triumph, to form part of any administration in England."

Is the writer really aware that Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright's twin brother in politics, and precisely his equal in station, has been invited and urged to take a seat in the Cabinet? Does the writer not know that the Peels were cotton-spinners, and Canning's mother an actress, and Lord Chancellor Eldon's father a humble coal-seller? If these should be supposed out-of-the-way cases, what does the writer think of our present government, in which there are at this moment six members at least of an origin as level with Mr. Bright's as can well be? These are Mr. Gladstone, Mr. T. Milner Gibson, the Lord Chancellor Bethell, Mr. Cardwell, Sir R. Peel, (going back to his grandfather,) Mr. Hutt, and Mr. Stansfeld.

It is the very characteristic of our polity that it leaves the political career open to desert; and every successive Administration contains a proof that birth has nothing whatever to do with qualification for office. Neither have sectarian considerations, in Mr. Bright's case or any other. If he is a Quaker, one member of the present government is a Wesleyan, and another a Unitarian.

Your writer seems to regard oratorical power as a main qualification for office. But it is not so. It is a very great convenience, but by no means a requisite. In point of fact, there are only Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Stansfeld in the government, who are remarkable as speakers; and where can a worse be found than Lord Russell?

Is your writer unaware of the censure visited upon Lord Derby for having once publicly said that Mr. Bright could never be in the Cabinet? It was considered an unconstitutional declaration, as the Administration is constitutionally open to all the citizens. It was not of Mr. Bright's birth that Lord Derby was thinking when he said that, but of some better grounds."

The article, containing the blunder to which our correspondent alludes, was not original in the *Liberator*, but was copied *from a London paper!* It escaped our attention at the time.

SENATOR SUMNER'S SPEECH. An edition of Senator Sumner's recent speech on "Our Foreign Relations" is preparing for transmission to Europe. In typography and mechanical getting up, it will compare favorably with any similar publication ever sent from America. Other editions will be issued for gratuitous distribution and for sale in a few days. The stereotype plates are under the control of the Young Men's Republican Union, New York, by whose invitation the speech was delivered.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO LABOR FOR FREEDMEN.

FERNANDINA, (Florida,)Sept. 1, 1863.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY:—

DEAR SIR,—As an illustration of the fact, that the freedmen are alive to their interests, and appreciate the efforts made in their behalf, I will give you a few incidents.

For two weeks before the recent sale of forfeited property in this place by the United States Tax Commissioners, I was thronged with anxious colored men and women, who wanted to buy homes for their families. All set themselves to work to gather up the avails of their brief labor in freedom for this purpose. Some could bring nothing but willing hands and warm hearts, and such were made easy by the assurance that buildings should be erected on vacant lots, and sold them "on time." The women generally exhibited the greatest zeal and energy, as well as anxiety in this behalf; and at the sale, through the friendly agency of a faithful friend, and the kind forbearance of competitors, some thirty families secured homes at prices within their means to pay.

Several Union meetings of the freedmen have been held to encourage enlistments, and promote the interests of the Government. The discriminating loyalty and enthusiastic patriotism of both men and women then manifested would do honor to even those who have always enjoyed the full protection and benefits of the flag of freedom. And not long since, the colored women called a meeting to take measures to secure a flag, to be presented to the 1st Florida Colored Regiment now existing here. Fifty-five dollars was immediately raised, and sent to New York, and when informed that it would take forty more, they promptly responded, refusing to receive a contribution from any but colored women!

Since the closing of the schools for a two months' vacation, the children have exhibited such a desire to continue their studies, and the parents are so fearful that they will "fall back," that one of the more intelligent of the colored women, who has learned to read under the guidance of the teachers sent out from your vicinity, has been induced to open a school, and daily instructs a class of little children, for which she is paid two and three shillings each per week!

Not less than twenty letters were received by the last boat from colored soldiers in the army in South Carolina to their kindred here; and, in the absence of their more faithful friend and counsellor, the lady teacher, (as my office is always open,) I was called upon to read and answer at least a dozen of them. In nearly every case, the most tender solicitude was manifested, and the most faithful religious admonitions given. "Don't go in bad company," "be good soldiers," "remember there is a God, and that you have a soul to save," were the friendly counsels of "the loved ones at home." Julia, the mother of four children like herself, black as midnight, says to her husband: "We are all well now, and get along well; Julia goes to school to Elsie Locey; I pay a dollar and a-half a month, I so 'fraid she fall back before the ladies return; baby grows finely, and runs all about; she will meet her pa at the gate with a kiss when he returns." Dick says to his son Jacob: "Be a good boy, and always speak the truth—keep away from bad company—don't quarrel with' nobody—remember the way you were brought up at home, and be a good soldier, and follower of the Savior." One neat and sensible girl rejects an offer of marriage with spirit, reminding her suitor that he is already engaged to another! Another wishes to accept the addresses of her lover, but her mother objects, and the girl acquiesces with becoming grace. Do not these things indicate human hearts under these black skins?

In every attribute of human character, these freedmen are above the common estimate at the North, and equal to any people brought up in ignorance and bondage, and will as readily respond to proper efforts for their elevation. As a class, they are essential to the future prosperity of the South; and as free laborers, if properly protected and directed, will cause the wilderness of the slave States to "blossom as the rose," and the desert waste to "smile with abundance." No graver political error and no more cruel moral proposition was ever indulged in, than that for their deportation and colonization; and I thank God that that idea is involved in insurmountable difficulties, while He has graciously made the administration of justice and mercy the only practicable avenue of escape from the evils which oppression and wrong have brought upon the country. When the nation is fully educated by the stern and unyielding providences which now shake her very foundations, up to the point of doing justice and recognizing the principles of republican equality as of universal application, there will be found little difficulty in satisfactorily solving the problem of "What shall be done with the black race?"

The interests and destiny of this proscribed and long-suffering people are now in the hands of their friends. Let them see to it that the opportunity is not lost of securing them against the enemies of freedom, and beyond the contingencies of political changes. Let them pour in "light—light—and illuminate the bottom" of this dark and pestilential swamp of slavery and degradation, and reëstablish beacons that shall for ever enlighten and dispel its gloom and corruption.

In the bonds of a common humanity, I remain, sir,
Very truly and respectfully,
HARRISON REED,
U. S. Tax Collector for Florida.

WHAT THE GENERALS SAY.

Extract of a letter from a friend in Illinois:—

"I wish you had been with me the other day at the grand Union meeting at Springfield in this State. You have of course read of the meeting, and the noble letter of President Lincoln, which was there read. The most radical sentiments were uttered by all the speakers to whom I listened. We had three Major Generals, several Senators, and the most prominent politicians of the West. All, without a solitary exception, came out flat-footed for Emancipation and the utter extinction of slavery. It was refreshing to hear Generals Prentiss and Oglesby, just from the field, not only declare their full approbation of the Emancipation policy, but openly boast of their efforts in freeing slaves, and commend in the strongest language the conduct of colored soldiers in the field. There is everything to hope from this revolution in public sentiment. When a man like Logan, long known as 'Dirty Jack' for his hand in framing the execrable Black Code of this State, (now, happily, a dead letter,) converted by actual experience of the peculiar institution into its most determined antagonist, comes home to Egypt, and preaches anti-slavery in the midst of that region of negro-haters, all true men have reason to thank God and take courage."

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 10, 1863.

Editor of the Boston Liberator:

MY DEAR SIR—Enclosed you will find a sample of cotton from the first bale ever raised in this city by *free labor.* It was classed *strictly middling*, and was sold by me at auction yesterday for 67 cts. per pound, cash, to the agent of Messrs. Carlos Pierce and Co., of Boston, and will be sent there.

Yours, truly, GEO. E. TYLER, *Auct'r*,
No. 2 Magazine st., New Orleans, La.

☞ We found nothing enclosed in this letter, but perceive that other editors in the city have been favored with a similar letter, and doubt not the omission of the sample alluded to by the writer was an oversight. May this first bale of free labor cotton be the forerunner of millions of similar bales in the course of time, and the symbol of the certain regeneration of Louisiana as a free State!

ESSEX QUARTERLY MEETING. We are desired to announce that the old and long-approved Anti-Slavery Association of Essex county will hold a Quarterly Meeting, on Sunday, October 4th, in Danvers, at the Town Hall. [Particulars next week.]

"THE PULPIT DIVORCED FROM THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE!"

ADDRESSED TO CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.

DEAR BRETHREN: We shall not waste King's English to prove that Intemperance is getting the upper hand of us, and, like a sea of fire, threatens to roll over the nation.

Sad demonstrations of this boldly stare us in the face; and the watchman on Zion's walls who fails to discover this is blind, in a significant sense. A change has come over our profession touching this cause. We have preachers—successors of the very men who inaugurated the Temperance movement—who year by year totally ignore it, alike in sermons and in prayers! Pulpits which thirty years ago roared like Sinai against this abomination, are now silent as the grave, whilst others give it merely a passing notice.

Whence this change—whence this "divorce" from a great and suffering cause? Are clergymen winebibbers? Are clergymen sots? Does conscious guilt seal their lips in criminal silence? God forbid! Such an imputation would be false—basely false. Compared with men in other vocations—lawyers, doctors, and the like—clergymen are eminently temperate—bright specimens of the virtue.

Churlish men say, "the pulpit is shorn of strength and has had its day." True, it has lost its strong hold on the populace in some measure. True, it is not invested with a halo of superstitious veneration, as in dark ages. But, thank God, we have pulpits still, which have not lost an iota of vital energy to battle an evil which "drowns men in destruction." What power equals pulpit-power when in right hands! When a preacher—a true man—stands up in his place, and wields the law of God and the gospel of Christ against this giant iniquity, he is the impersonation of moral power, and he creates moral power in all about him—the very power which is indispensable to carry this Reform into the strong-holds of sin and Satan. He is a water-wheel which sets ten thousand spindles whirling.

How, then, has it come to pass that pulpits once so effective, preachers now so able, do comparatively so little against this destroyer? What causes have wrought this change, and rendered pulpits so inefficient?

Other agents, we answer, have arisen, and in some sense become our substitutes, and assumed our responsibilities; and our failing to stand up in our places, and faithfully to apply the word of God to this evil, has occasioned infinite mischief to a cause we all profess to love.

1. We have placed undue reliance on WASHINGTONIANS. These reformed inebriates came from Baltimore and other cities, from theatres, gin-palaces, and the "breathing-holes of hell!" They were eloquent men. Delirium tremens made them eloquent, and they taught us a new and magnificent lesson, that a drunkard is not beyond the compassion of God, and, though possessed of a legion of devils, he can be restored, and sit at the feet of Jesus. They accomplished a grand work in their own way, and we cease not to thank God for it.

But they were not men of cultute. They had no science, and many of them no religion. They were unable to analyze poisonous drugs and drinks, and, of course, unable to instruct the public relative to important principles involved in this reform. Hence, when ministers of Christ relaxed their efforts, as many did when Washingtonians took the field, and imagined that these new lights would perfect a work which they had begun, they made a capital mistake. The substitution of their instruction for the luminous instructions of a faithful and fearless pulpit was like substituting the fitful, fiery flashes of Etna or Vesuvius for the light of the sun.

2. Many of us have placed undue reliance on PROHIBITORY LAWS. Believing such laws against a nefarious traffic indispensable, we labored indefatigably to secure them. When secured, we imagined our civil authorities would execute them, irrespective of what clergymen in their pulpits might or might not do. Having secured wholesome laws, we seemed disposed to have the comfort of them; we suspended our vigilance, and reposed on our laurels. Hence, laws just and good, precisely adapted to meet the "GREAT EVIL OF THE AGE," are not executed in our cities and large towns. Purse-proud, ruby-faced distillers and venders make them "a by-word and hissing," stir up riots, trample down all law, in disregard of God and man. Why, we ask, is prohibitory law a failure? Because moral power does not come forward to support it. Churches do little or nothing about it, because pulpits do little or nothing about it; and, as the execution of the law is committed to men who care little or nothing about it, of course it is not executed, and we mournfully fail in as grand a legislative measure as ever was devised.

3. We have placed undue reliance on PROFESSIONAL LECTURES. A preacher, intrenched in the prayers of his church, intrenched amidst the elements of the law and gospel, amidst motives drawn from time and from eternity, may wield, if he will, a power well-nigh divine.

Thirty-four years ago, several sermons on the nature and effects of intoxicating liquors were delivered in the Theological Chapel at Andover. They were delivered on the *Lord's day*, on consecutive Sabbaths, in the presence of STUART, PORTER, WOODS—men of might—and in the presence of a most fastidious audience. Now, we have gladly listened to many professional lecturers since then; we have admired the dramatic genius and matchless eloquence of Gough, laughed and cried under the wit and poetry of Jewett, and thanked him for his scientific instructions; but those sermons made a deeper impression than all the lectures we ever heard. Those sermons, we dare say, still live in the minds of many clergymen now laboring wide asunder over our vast territory. The momentum they gave still "operates unspent."

The fact is, questions of Salvation and Damnation are involved in this theme. Hence, when a godly man takes the pulpit, prepared to preach on this as on other Bible themes, the hallowed associations of prayer, time, and place, wonderfully combine to give him power, and as a prince he prevails.

Brethren, let us do our appropriate work, and give noble, worthy lecturers every encouragement to do theirs; but no longer substitute their appeals, however captivating, for the instructions of God's word. Why exchange the pulpit for the platform? Why exhaust our zeal by raising a hundred dollars for some "eloquent orator," and do nothing till he comes, and when he comes load him with noisy applause, and do nothing afterwards?

We have given a dozen years and more to the Temperance cause. We have been "everywhere," preaching against Tobacco and Strong Drink. Wherever we have labored, we have seen here and there clergymen fully awake, battling the monster with Christian weapons in a fearless and successful manner. Dram-shops and the whole paraphernalia of drunkards have gone down under their scathing tongues. We fix no limits to the power of an honest pulpit. We have seen thirteen dram-shops demolished by a couple of sermons from a young preacher, and the ploughshare of reform driven completely through the place! Glorious men! They do much to atone for the defects of a whole profession. Their reward is on high!

We have seen others—fine gentlemen, fine preachers—who treat this as a vulgar cause, and who fear they may compromise their dignity if they "touch it with one of their fingers"! The subject was about to come under discussion in a clerical body of late. A member objected, and, with a swell of grandiloquence, moved "that it be not entertained, as it did not comport with the dignity of the body"!

We have seen others, who have never investigated the deadly nature of intoxicating agents, and know nothing of their fatal power on the souls of their hearers, and nothing of their fatal power to render them useless as preachers of the Gospel. They remind us of a young and popular preacher, who said, "It is a fine thing to have a man come round, and tell us all

about rum and tobacco, and save us the trouble." Their idol is polite literature.

We see clergymen who do but little themselves, but censure what others do, in a lordly style. They object to Secret Societies. They think the cause is in bad hands. They cry, Heretics! Infidels! Rechabites! Hivites! Jebusites! They think suasion, whether legal or moral, is a failure, and conclude, as a Doctor of Divinity expresses it, "that the barrel is painted at each end, and they will have nothing to do with it."

Secret societies, we admit, may never deal in great principles—may never rid the world of this great curse—and, of course, will never do what the church of God is destined to do whenever done; but such societies are doing good in manifold ways easily specified, and with an admirable grace they might turn upon their critics, and ask, "What pulpits or order of pulpits, what societies old or new, are doing anything, comparatively anything, in this terrible crisis?"

We see clergymen who consider their pulpits too sacred to admit this theme. They think it well enough to reason on Temperance on secular occasions—to give it a slight touch on fast days and stormy days; but to preach a sermon on this mighty evil on a fair Sabbath, when influential sinners are at church, would violate the sanctity of God's house, and all notions of pulpit etiquette!

We ask such brethren, does not the use of intoxicating drugs and drinks transgress the laws of life, and is not such transgression the very essence of sin? And should not pulpits preach against sin? We ask, are not such drugs and drinks obstacles to the conversion of sinners and the conversion of the world, and should not pulpits preach against what subverts their own purpose?

What sin, we ask, does the Bible assault with such power as that of Intemperance? Not the formidable type of Intemperance which now infuriates our mobs, and sometimes *heads* our armies; not the type of Intemperance whose aliment is "liquid death and distilled damnation"; but the Bible hurls its denunciations against Intemperance in far milder forms—Intemperance in the use of wines—the juice of the grape!

Pulpits too holy! What place is too holy in which to work for God? When, brethren, shall we rid our profession of this pious legerdemain? When shall we view this glorious Reform from a Christian standpoint, place it among Christian ethics, and so preach that we shall impress perishing thousands about us with the terrible truth that "no drunkard can inherit the kingdom of God"?

The Profession is infinitely in debt to the Temperance cause, and gratitude should arm our pulpits against "The Great Evil of the Age." Fifty years ago clergymen generally indulged in the cup, and many were drunken. They drank in their parochial calls from house to house—they drank at tea-parties, weddings and funerals, and in all ministerial conventions. They marched to sparkling decanters no less promptly than topers marched to dram-shops by city bells, which rang out the toddy-hour. Many drank to utter degradation, and the winds of heaven whistled over the bones of many whom drunkenness hurled from pulpits into dishonored graves. Hence, dear brethren, consider "the rock whence we were hewn" consider the terrible Crisis through which we are passing. Scorn no more this bleeding cause, but "play the man."

"The Temperance Cause," said a titled divine, when addressing an immense body of clergymen in Brooklyn, N. Y., "The Temperance Cause—*a cause without an effect!*" How becoming the Occasion, the Presence, and an Epoch when the flood-gates of Intemperance are lifted up, had a counter sentiment been offered: The Temperance Cause—a blessing to every nation, people and tongue. As ambassadors of the world's Redeemer—ourselves redeemed from drunkards' graves—we will declare with unfaltering tongue the whole counsel of God against an evil which threatens to whelm the nation in destruction.

Fitchburg, Mass. GEO. TRASK.

NOTE FROM REV. C. W. DENNISON.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Our mutual friend, Dr. Brown, editor of the *American Baptist*, has shown me a copy of the *Liberator*, containing a letter from Rev. J. Sella Martin, written in London, on the 24th of July last, in which he says:—

"One American had just shamefully failed in his advocacy of our cause by a lack of truthfulness—allowing himself to be called the chaplain of the George Griswold—nay, even thus styling himself."

I appeal to your sense of justice to allow a brief space in your paper, to explain this matter. "*He that is just in little, is just also in much.*"

I went to England in the George Griswold as a passenger. The President was made aware of my going, and that my only object would be to speak to the masses of the English people, especially those in Lancashire, on behalf of free labor in America. On arriving in England, I was at once introduced, by responsible parties, as the chaplain of the ship. It was not a thing of my own choice, nor had I anticipated it. The position was accepted because the expedition was one of mercy, and gave me access to the hearts of the people I longed to reach with a plea for our country. I performed its duties faithfully, remaining on board until the cargo was all discharged, and on its way to the operatives for whom it was intended. On that day I left the ship, and immediately announced in the papers that my connection with the mission was at an end—adding, that it was my wish to be received as in no way identified with the government or any society of the United States. In this independent capacity, I began and completed all my labors in England.

My friend, Mr. Martin, is evidently not informed of these facts. I will add, that my whole course in Great Britain was in accordance with them. I not only kept free from all party associations, but I fellowshipped with no censurers on one, who, however I may have differed from him respecting the Union and Constitution of the States, the ministry and the church, I have ever cherished and still cherish in my heart—William Lloyd Garrison.

With regard to my having "shamefully failed" in my humble efforts for our country while in England, I have only to say, that I had free access to every pulpit and platform I desired to enter. I addressed, in the course of my stay, not less than one hundred thousand of the laboring people of the British Isle. I was received everywhere with respect, and listened to with attention. Resolutions were constantly passed at the close of my meetings, in favor of the cause of the Free States; and at the last crowded gathering of intelligent Englishmen I had the happiness to appeal to on behalf of the freedom and equality of man, a vote was unanimously adopted, expressing the opinion that my mission was a complete success. A copy of this vote, signed by the chairman and secretary, was furnished me, and is now preserved among the many pleasant memorials I possess of my visit to the fatherland.

I remain, sincerely yours,
CHARLES WHEELER DENISON.
Hyde Park, Mass., Sept. 21, 1863.

New Company of Colored Volunteers. At a meeting held on Monday evening, Sept. 21st, General John J. Tyler presiding, the following officers were chosen for a company of colored volunteer militia, in harmony with the features of the new military State regulations of the last Legislature:—

Lewis Gaul, Captain;
James B. Watkins, 1st Lieutenant;
Peter E. Hawkins, 2d do.

The Corps D'Afrique. Of the Corps d'Afrique, authorized under the auspices of Gen. Banks, fifteen thousand colored soldiers have already been mustered into the service, and recruits are still coming in rapidly. The maximum strength of the corps is 25,000

A DEFENDER OF FREE SPEECH.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:—

Some twenty-five years ago, Charles C. Burleigh visited Wilkesbarre, in Pennsylvania, for the purpose of expressing free speech in behalf of freedom. He was denied this constitutional right, and escorted out of that pretty village in a manner not provided for in the instrument which we call the charter of American liberty. A meeting of "the people," in which George W. Woodward, then an aspiring lawyer, took a prominent part, led to this summary expulsion of the volunteer free speaker. Mr. Burleigh can no doubt testify to the facts, and the Rev. A. L. Post produce the files of the Montrose *Spectator* containing the particulars.

The Hon. George W. Woodward, now a gubernatorial candidate for Pennsylvania, is the identical person who thus denied freedom of speech to one of his fellow-citizens. He is the candidate of that party so clamorous for freedom of speech in behalf of slavery and rebellion. His record is consistent.

Freemen of Pennsylvania! pause, reflect, and discard the man who has shown himself capable of wresting from an American citizen his most sacred rights.

A Son of the Keystone State.

WHITE LABOR IN THE SLAVE STATES.

A prominent Democrat who lives and does business in our city, (and whose name, not for publication, but for the verification of this statement, is at the service of the *World*,) was induced some years since to buy an estate in Eastern Virginia, reputed rich in gold. He employed a foreman to develop it, hired twenty-five or thirty of the poor whites residing upon or adjacent to it to assist as laborers, and came here to attend to other business. But a few weeks had elapsed when he received a dispatch from his foreman, urging him to hurry back to Louisa county, and help the said foreman out of trouble. He promptly obeyed, and soon after reaching his estate was waited upon by three gentlemen, who proclaimed themselves a committee from the neighboring proprietors, appointed to notify him that he must not employ white labor on his estate, but must hire or buy slaves. He ventured to remonstrate—urged that he had imported no laborers into Virginia—that his men were all natives of the State, and fixed residents of the vicinage, &c., but was cut short by the spokesman (now the rebel General Jenkins,) with a curt reminder that they had not proposed to argue the point—that it was not the policy of Virginia to encourage white labor where slaves were to be had—and that they only desired to know whether he proposed to comply with their demand. or take the consequences of refusal.

Here one of the white laborers—a respectable, worthy citizen, over fifty years old, who happened to be present or passing—ventured to interpose the query:—"But what are *we* to do to support our families?" "Don't you know enough to hold your tongue?" responded the scion of chivalry, with such a look as he might have bestowed upon one who had undertaken to lecture him on physiognomy. The poor white man was cowed into abject silence; the New Yorker said that he had no choice, so he submitted with the best possible grace, dismissed his white Virginians to their sorry huts, and ragged, unschooled children, and proceeded to hire the negroes of his domineering neighbors as he needs must. He was paying the whites eighty cents in cash per day; they told him they would work for sixty cents rather than to be thrown off; but though he wanted their work and they wanted his money, they were all under the yoke of an iron despotism, and had to succumb.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

A St. Louis correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, under date of Sept. 4th, writes as follows:—

Missouri this week has been thrown into more than ordinary commotion by an unwar-like demonstration. The Emancipation Convention at Jefferson City has been the great attraction. Three years ago, such a gathering could hardly have been looked for—in fact, the holding of it at all would have been a difficult matter. See how the world moves! Here is a Convention at which two-thirds of the counties of the State are represented by delegates, all declaring themselves in favor of immediate emancipation. Nothing but the most unconditional loyalty is expressed. For the first time in the history of the nation, a great party has adopted a platform of unconditional freedom as the basis of a thorough State organization. Its chances of success at an election at the ballot-box are not certain, but they rank at least among the possibilities. Careful and impartial men are of opinion that the political strength of the two great parties in the State is nearly equal.

At the close of the session, a band of music was brought into the hall, and for an hour the Convention was made happy by listening to the popular and patriotic airs of the day. Finally, "John Brown" and the "Battle-Cry of Freedom" were sung amid tumultuous excitement. All this occurred in the hall where, two years ago, Gov. Jackson's Military Bill was passed, and a vote was nearly obtained for declaring Missouri out of the Union. A Committee was appointed to visit the President, and to lay before him a list of grievances such as were mentioned in the resolutions. Three candidates for Supreme Judges were nominated, all of them being men pledged to the support of the unconditional Union ticket. It is possible that another Convention will be called in the latter part of the year.

At Springfield, Illinois, there was a grand mass Convention yesterday, of which the telegraph has doubtless given you full accounts.

It might be inferred from the great attendance and immense enthusiasm on this occasion, that there is nothing but loyalty in Illinois. This is far from the case. No less than four actual collisions with the military have occurred there in the past two weeks, resulting in one instance in the death of a Provost Marshal and one of his assistants. The day before the Convention at Springfield, there was a disloyal gathering only fifteen miles west of that town, where several hundred armed men were present. This is but a specimen of the state of affairs in Illinois. A large part of the population is seriously disloyal, and will need the strong military arm before long.

☞ Judge Bond, of Baltimore, one of the foremost citizens of Maryland, has written a letter to the Secretary of War, in which he gives, with admirable clearness, the reasons which in common fairness demand that not only the free negroes and free whites, but also the blacks now held as slaves, ought to be enlisted in our armies. The population of Maryland is about 750,000. Of these 80,000 are free negroes, and 87,000 are slaves. The slaves are held by about 16,000 persons. The Government has deputed an officer to enlist the free negroes of Maryland into the service. Judge Bond is of opinion that, in justice to the great mass of the white population, the slaves ought also to be enlisted. By taking away the free blacks and leaving the slaves, he says, the Government compels those who employ workingmen in the State to hire slaves to do their work. He remarks that the present course, of enlisting only the free blacks, in effect puts money into the pockets of the sixteen thousand slaveholders, at the expense of the remaining six hundred thousand whites; it saddles slavery upon Maryland, against the wishes of a great part of her people; and it protects and guards the interests of a small majority of sixteen thousand persons, to the injury of the great mass of the population. He says, that so far as regards the service owed by persons to the Government, the slave is on an equality with the apprentice and the minor. These are all bound to their masters or parents under the law. It does even more; for it enlists the minor, who, by natural right and by law, owes service to his father till he is twenty-one. The Government takes him if he is between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one.

☞ A story was published some days since, representing a Col. R. C. Hill, of North Carolina, as telling Gen. Custer, under a flag of truce at Fredericksburg, that "there would soon be peace," adding certain reasons in support of this prophecy. The whole of this statement turns out to be false. The Richmond *Sentinel* of the 16th inst. publishes a card from Col. Robert C. Hill, of the 48th North Carolina Regiment, in which he says that he had an interview with Gen. Custer, as stated, on the 18th of August, but that it had reference to picket firing opposite Fredericksburg, and nothing at all was said as to peace. Col. Hill adds:—

"I am opposed to peace on any terms short of a submission of the federals to such terms as we may dictate; which, in my opinion, should be Mason and Dixon's line as boundary, the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi below Cairo, full indemnification for all the negroes stolen and property destroyed, the restoration of Fortress Monroe, Jefferson, Key West, and all other strongholds which may have fallen into their possession during the war. If they are unwilling to accede to these terms, I propose an indefinite continuance of the war until the now existing fragments of the old Union break to pieces from mere rottenness and want of cohesion, when we will come in as the only first-class power on the Western Hemisphere, and take possession of the pieces as subjugated and conquered provinces."

Attempt of Slaves to Escape. On Sunday morning, as a party of fugitive slaves, thirty in number, were making their way to Washington, from their master's home in Anne Arundel and Culvert counties through Centreville, a patrol, composed of citizens of Prince George county, attempted to stop them. The slaves resisted. Some of them were armed with old muskets, and attempted to use them, but they hung fire and proved ineffectual. The patrolers then fired in among the slaves, and wounded five of them, two seriously. Other parties coming to the aid of the patrol, most of the slaves were secured, and taken in charge of their owners, who had by this time overtaken them. Five were placed in jail in Marlboro'. One of them received a load of five shot in the face, by which both eyes were entirely destroyed.

New York, Sept. 20. A Morris Island letter reports that the rebels are extremely busy repairing Fort Sumter, and steamers are constantly plying between the city and the fort with materials therefor. A deserter says, that after strengthening Sumter and planting more batteries on James Island, Beauregard intends to assume the offensive, in order, if possible, to gain possession of Morris Island. Charleston is said to be full of rebel troops.

Other accounts state that it may be a week yet before Gen. Gillmore can open fire upon Charleston. The mounting of guns on the North end of Morris Island proves very slow work, but our losses therefrom are trifling.

Gen. Gillmore had issued the following congratulatory order to the troops on the capture of Morris Island:—

Department of the South,
Head Quarters, in the Field,
Morris Island, S. C., Sept. 15, 1863.

It is with no ordinary feeling of gratification and pride that the Brigadier General Commanding is enabled to congratulate this army on the signal success which has now crowned the enterprise in which it has been engaged. Fort Sumter is destroyed. The scene where our country's flag suffered its first dishonor, you have made the theatre of one of its proudest triumphs. The fort has been in the possession of the enemy for more than two years, and has been his pride and boast. It has been strengthened by every appliance known to military science, and has defied the assaults of the most powerful and gallant fleet the world ever saw. But it has yielded to your courage and patient labor. Its walls are now crumbled to ruins. Its formidable batteries are silenced, and though a hostile flag still floats over it, the fort is a harmless and helpless wreck. Forts Wagner and Gregg, rendered memorable by their protracted resistance and the sacrifice of life they have cost, have also been wrested from the enemy by your persevering courage and skill, and the graves of your fellow-comrades rescued from destruction and contumely.

You now hold in undisputed possession the whole of Morris Island, and the city and harbor of Charleston lie at the mercy of your artillery from the very spot where the first shot was fired at your country's flag, and the rebellion itself was inaugurated. To you, the officers and soldiers of this command, and the gallant Navy which has coöperated with you, are due the thanks of your Commander and the country. You were called upon to encounter untold privations and dangers, to undergo unremitting and exhausting labors, to sustain severe and disheartening reverses. How nobly your patriotism and zeal have responded to the call, the results of the campaign will show, and your Commanding General gratefully bears witness.

Q. A. GILLMORE,
Brigadier General Commanding.

A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from Morris Island, says:—

"The scene which presents itself to the eye of a visitor at Fort Wagner, this morning, is one of utter wreck and ruin. The broken parapets, the dismounted guns, the sand piled up before the entrances of the bomb-proof, the bolts and fragments of exploded shell with which the terreplein is paved, and, more than all, the heaps of rebel slain, some lying in the sun, and others half-buried in the loose sand, show what a fearful ordeal the garrison passed through. The stench arising from the decaying dead is sickening and overpowering. Many were buried at night, just below the surface of the terreplein, to be unearthed and torn to pieces by the missiles which on the following day continued to plough through the work. Here an arm sticks stiffly out of the ground, and there a shoeless foot is visible, while in another corner are three bodies, one clad in a major's uniform, laid carefully aside for burial, but left in the hurry of departure for us to put away. Existence must have been terrible while the bombardment was going on. Even now the odor of the apartment is almost intolerable. The garrison, which consisted of about fourteen hundred men, was here huddled like sheep in a fold, without sunshine to illuminate or air to breathe. The ceiling, formed of huge logs, is so low as scarcely to afford standing-room. Dead bodies are scattered here and there, contributing their effluvia to the horrid stench arising from the accumulation of human filth and nastiness. I could only remain for a moment in the place. Officers and privates who enter it flee hurriedly away as if from plague or pestilence. The only furniture of the room was a table made of rough boards. One or two rough coffins were there, whether empty or not I did not endeavor to ascertain. A row of shelves on either side of the main entrance contained a number of shot and shell of various calibres. The floor was strewn with papers, old rags, pieces of greasy bacon, and other filth which, in ordinary camps, finds its way to the sinks. Until disinfectants are freely used and the work thoroughly policed, it will be impossible for our men to remain there. Already Gen. Terry has ordered them out of the fort, and forty barrels of chloride of lime are on their way up the beach to be employed in making the atmosphere of the place in some degree tolerable and wholesome. Beyond Fort Wagner the ground seems to have been used as a place of burial for many who fell in the defence of the place. There are a number of graves just in the rear of the banquets. Here also are several dead horses and mules, swollen with noxious gases, and attracting to the spot myriads on myriads of flies. A little further on are several holes dug in the sand for shelter to the troops, those stationed without the fort living very much like the fiddlers and sand crabs with which the ground is thronged."

Fort Sumter. The New York *Commercial* says that before the late assault on Sumter, Admiral Dahlgren had satisfactorily ascertained that there were only twenty men left to garrison the fort; but, unfortunately, he made his preparations for the assault during daylight, which aroused the vigilance of the rebels, who reinforced the garrison immediately after nightfall with certainly not less than a thousand men, and had every preparation made to give the storming party a warm reception.

On the morning of the 15th, the magazine of one of the rebel batteries on Sand Point, near Fort Johnson, exploded with terrific violence, destroying the battery, its magazine, guns, &c. One hundred rebel prisoners, taken on Morris Island, came North in the McClellan.

A Morris Island letter says the rebels have recently fired large slabs of iron, two feet in length and four or five inches wide, bound with strong wire. They are thrown with a view of getting them under the turrets to prevent them revolving.

The new projectiles thrown into Charleston are an invention of a son of the late Hon. James G. Birney, the abolitionist.

DESPERATE BATTLE BETWEEN THE ARMIES OF ROSECRANS AND BRAGG!

☞ A desperate battle commenced on Saturday, at 11 o'clock, near Chattanooga, and raged with various success during the day. Several onsets of the rebels were repulsed, but they succeeded in breaking our centre. The gap was, however, closed by fresh troops, and the position recovered. The fight was principally one of musketry, the country being unfavorable to artillery. Our loss in wounded is heavy, but the killed are few.

New York, Sept. 22. The Tribune's special dispatch says that such parts of Gen. Rosecrans' army official dispatches, concerning the battles of Saturday and Sunday, as are deemed proper for publication, it is presumed, will be sent to the press. The general summing up is that after two days of severe fighting, in which General Rosecrans, with greatly inferior forces, bore the shock of 140,000 rebels, comprising the armies of Bragg and Johnston, half of Lee's army and all of Pemberton's scattered troops that could be gathered together, he deemed it prudent to fall back upon Chattanooga, which he did in good order.

At last accounts he had established communications with the cavalry of Gen. Burnside, who is severely censured for not having arrived earlier. Two of Gen. Rosecrans' divisions are reported not to have behaved very well. It is believed that Rosecrans will soon be put in a position to enable him to resume the offensive. In the meantime he is thought to be strong enough to hold his ground. There is, at least, reason to believe that the attention of what remains of Lee's army will soon be occupied.

The number of prisoners taken by the enemy will hardly surpass 2,000 beside the wounded, of whom not more than 1,000 could have fallen into their hands. Of the rebel prisoners we have sent 1,300 to Nashville.

Most of our losses in artillery were occasioned by the killing of all the horses.

Gen. Thomas retired to Roseville on Sunday night after the battle had closed. Gen. Rosecrans had issued orders for all his troops to be concentrated with the forces at Chattanooga.

In the last two assaults our troops fought with bayonets, their ammunition being exhausted.

Rebel prisoners say that some of their regiments are almost annihilated. Both armies occupy the same ground as when the action began.

We have captured several hundred prisoners, many of whom are from the East. We took ten guns and lost seven.

☞ In capturing Chattanooga, Gen. Rosecrans has placed the Union forces in possession of the most valuable prize—next to Knoxville—which could have been obtained for them in the middle confederacy. The united armies of Gens. Rosecrans and Burnside can now hold the commanding plateau of East Tennessee, a region proverbially salubrious, capable of supporting, from its own resources, a large army, containing the great southwestern avenue of the confederacy, and as a strategic position, dominating the slopes to the Gulf, the Atlantic, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Richmond may in time fall, from our holding in force the country round about Knoxville and Chattanooga.

A Free Labor Press in Vicksburg. Mr. F. Montgomery, formerly editor of the Vicksburg *Whig*, but, for a year past, an exile from his home, has issued a prospectus of a weekly journal to be published in that place under the name of the Vicksburg *Union*. What is to be the character of the paper may be judged from the following sentence which we clip from the prospectus: "While the *Union* will scrupulously avoid all counsels of fanaticism, it will, nevertheless, advocate in the most earnest and solemn manner the entire and immediate extinction of the cause of all the present troubles, and the curse of the South—African Slavery." Three years ago, had it been seriously asserted that such a paper would have been published in Vicksburg at this time, the assertion would have been laughed at as ridiculous; and one year ago, had Mr. Montgomery been told *he* would edit such a paper, he would probably have considered it a wild speculation, and anything but complimentary to himself; but the advantages he has had for observing the effects of slavery and secession upon both sections of the Union these three years past have made him a convert to abolitionism. Garrison himself could not ask him to take stronger ground against slavery.—*Hyannis Messenger.*

The Value of Slaves in Southern Kentucky. The Nashville *Union* says:—

"We have conversed, recently, with several large slaveholders from Southern Kentucky. They say that the decline in the price of slaves is from thirty to fifty per cent.; the average decline being nearer the latter figure. The price of a slave depends almost wholly upon his personal situation and feelings. A steady slave who has a wife on or near his owner's farm, is considered valuable in his neighborhood. But slaves brought from a distance, or young men and women who have no domestic ties to bind them, or slaves who have ever manifested a disposition to run off, will not bring any price at all. They are considered as intangible as the wind. A man would as soon think of investing his money in a contigent interest in a flock of wild pigeons, or a school of herring swimming in mid ocean, as to invest it in such fugacious children of Ham."

The Colored Soldiers Captured Before Charleston. The editor of the Savannah *Republican* wrote from Charleston, on the 29th ult., as follows:—

I have omitted to state in previous letters that the captured negroes, who were turned over to the State, by the military authorities a few weeks ago, were brought up for trial under the laws of South Carolina, on Monday. On motion of counsel on their side, the cases were postponed until Thursday week. Able counsel have been assigned the prisoners, and other steps taken to secure them a fair and impartial trial. Public sentiment here is against a rigid execution of the law, and I shall not be surprised if a plea in defence that they were acting not of their own free will, but under compulsion, should avail in securing a verdict of acquittal.

The Raid on Kansas Justified. The accounts of Quantrell's retreat are as little worthy of belief as those of his conduct at Lawrence. According to these accounts, his command scattered, and eighty of his men have been overtaken and put to death in cold blood. That Lane and his horde of miscreants have, indeed, seized and murdered eighty citizens of Missouri in cold blood, is quite probable; but that they were Quantrell's men is not at all probable. *The expedition to Lawrence was a gallant and perfectly fair blow at the enemy; but as it fell heavy upon him, and as the population of Kansas is malignant and scoundrelly beyond description*, no doubt can be entertained that it will be made the excuse and pretext of every species of atrocities in Missouri, until the Confederate leaders do what they ought to have done, and what they are falsely accused of doing. A resort to *lex talionis* in its most decisive form, is the only hope of safety in Missouri, as it soon will be everywhere.—*Richmond Examiner.*

Southern Hopes. The organ of Jeff. Davis thus endeavors to sustain the drooping spirits of his disheartened followers:—

"Let the people [of the Confederacy] not be downcast at the result at Gettysburg, nor by the loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. These losses will be MORE THAN MADE GOOD TO US by the disorganization of Northern society, which will result from the EXPECTED TRIUMPH OF THE PEACE DEMOCRACY."

Copperhead Resolve. At a District Convention of the Democracy of Long Island, N. Y., held on the 14th inst., the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"Resolved, That we favor the withdrawal of every Federal soldier from Southern soil, and the absolute abandonment forever of the claim warranted by no clause in the Constiution, nor by any consideration of natural or moral equity; that we have no right to invade the territory of any State to impose by force upon the citizens of such State a government to which they never consented, and which they will never voluntarily obey."

The Democratic Convention of the State of New York adopted the following:—

Resolved, That the Administration of Horatio Seymour, as Governor of New York, meets our highest approval; * * * * *and the vigor which he displayed in putting down a lawless and reckless mob.*

We have a natural fondness for the ridiculous, and the above made us laugh for twenty minutes.—*N. Y. Independent.*

Better News from England. The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* says:

"A private letter from an American gentleman now in Great Britain, where he enjoys excellent opportunities of information, was received yesterday.

The writer says that a remarkable change has come over the public opinion of England within the last few weeks. It now favors the North as strongly as it has heretofore favored the South. Among the distinguished converts is Mr. Gladstone, who will take an early opportunity of declaring himself the friend of the Union. The writer is assured upon high authority that the rebel rams will not be permitted to sail, or that if they do sail they will each be escorted by an English ironclad, instructed to prevent them from violating the neutrality of Britain. It is added that a large amount of capital is awaiting the settlement of the ram question, in order to seek investment in American securities. Our recent victories are regarded as the cause of this change of front by England."

The news that the rebel government has resolved to call out negroes is received with distrust, and some regard it, if true, as a confession of weakness by the South, others as a masterly stroke of policy.

The *Daily News* says it will prove conclusively, not only that the Confederate cause is hopeless, but that the leaders know it to be so.

The Union Emancipation Society have addressed a memorial to Earl Russell on the subject, similar to that of the Emancipation Society, urging a prompt investigation.

☞ The London *Star*, taking up the shameful avowal of Earl Russell, that the Government of England has not the power to prevent its own citizens from warring upon nations with which England is at peace, says:—

"The letter is an invitation to shipbuilders to set the law at defiance. It is a proclamation to all the world, that the Government of Great Britain is unable to prevent its subjects going to war upon their own private account with nations against whom the Government has no cause of complaint. If this is to be our attitude in future, we shall be treated as aliens in the commonwealth of nations, as a nest of privateer builders, unworthy of the style and title of a great Power, and deserving neither sympathy nor quarter at the hands of others when the weakness of the Administration involves us in hostilities."

Meeting of the Republican Association. A large gathering was present on Monday evening at the Republican Association Rooms, to listen to a speech of Mr. Giles B. Stebbins, of Rochester, N. Y., on the subject, "Our Home Work for the Safety and True Greatness of Our Republic." This work he considered to be specially one of argument and instruction, or the forcing home on the real authors of this war the guilt thereof; the enlightening of the public as to the difference between our time and times of peace when discussing free speech, and the removal of prejudice and false conceptions from the minds of the ignorant. The war he conceived to be one of ideas, as well as one of bayonets; hence the need of argument, as well as of military power. The whole address was very eloquent and able, and was listened to, to the end, with the greatest interest. It was a speech that is well worthy of publication.—*Detroit paper.*

☞ The Boston *Pilot*, a Roman Catholic journal of the vilest pro-slavery sort, is much exercised because one of the great lights of the Romish faith has thrown his influence into the scale of humanity and impartial liberty by advocating the emancipation policy and the revolutionizing doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. The editor, Patrick Donahoe, calls the Abolitionists "a herd of infidel, Fourierite, traitorous, war-causing, and unbaptized philanthropists." Patrick's profane wrath against the Abolitionists exhibits him in a most pitiable light. Fortunately, he does not represent the best blood of the Roman Catholic communion.—*Hyannis Messenger.*

☞ The Union people of Arkansas have suffered as bitter persecution as those of East Tennessee. A writer accompanying Gen. Blunt's expedition says:—

"Refugees from the rebel conscription, and Union men who had been obliged to flee for their lives, are coming into Blunt's lines by hundreds. Their sufferings have been indescribable. Nakedness, starvation, whipping, branding, chains, and dungeons have been the portions of the Union men at the South. More than one hundred have been shot and hung at Fort Smith since the rebellion opened."

☞ California has gone most decidedly against the copperhead democracy, whose candidates are beaten by overwhelming majorities. Yet California used to be a democratic State, and could be relied upon to do anything of a democratic character within the Constitution; but she is too loyal to go for secession, and too golden to support coppery principles. Mr. Lane, the Republican candidate for Governor, has 20,000 majority, and his success expresses the political law and gospel of California.

☞ Vallandigham's man Friday, George E. Pugh, who is stumping the State of Ohio for Val. and himself, took occasion in a recent speech to say, that a regiment of good Democrats could put all the negro troops in the United States to flight. Mr. Jefferson J. Toombs of Cincinnati, who boasts that his *father* is a white man from one of the first families in the South, thereupon challenges Pugh to a single combat, in any manner and with any weapons the latter may choose. Pugh hasn't replied as yet.

Well Answered. The Nashville *Union*, replying to a contemptuous remark of a copperhead paper that "Sambo is getting to be of great importance in these latter days," says: "The negro has been of great importance for more than a generation. He has enabled a few aristocrats to rule the nation. He has given the cotton States all their importance. He has caused one foreign and one civil war already, and has become at last 'the chief corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy.' Who will deny 'Sambo's importance?'"

The Louisville *Journal* learns from good authority that the murderer Quantrell resided in that city fourteen or fifteen years ago as a doctor. While there, he was convicted of forgery, and sent to the Kentucky Penitentiary for seven years.

The regiments returning from Port Hudson speak in glowing terms of their kind treatment on the way home. "As the train rolled slowly up to the various stations, men, women and children were seen loaded with delicious viands to bestow upon the returning soldiers. All memory of hard tack and salt junk faded away before the generous stores of fresh milk, peaches, game, pies, and all the luxuries of well-stocked larders."

New York, Sept. 14th. The report that the flag that Major Anderson had with him at Fort Sumter was taken, is untrue. Peter Hart, the hero who had so much to do with it at the time, says the flag is in safe keeping in this city.

About Counting Chickens. The checks that we have received near Chattanooga, the failure of the Texas incursion, and other little reverses that have occurred of late, will moderate the zeal not only of those who see peace a few weeks ahead, but of those who are getting up nice little plans for the restoration of the Union. Are they not counting their chickens before they are hatched? Doubtless the chickens will be hatched in due time, but until they are, it is not safe to estimate their number, or to put too much confidence in their proceeds in the market.

Colored Seamen in the Navy. An unofficial estimate of the number of colored seamen in the Navy shows that there are now about 5,000 in that branch of the public service. They were originally introduced as cooks and stewards, and for years were not seen on deck. Long before the war, however, they were allowed in the "after guard," and got along so well with the sailors and marines that the propriety of putting them in "the top" soon became apparent. At present they are seamen, ordinary seamen, landsmen, and boys—the marine corps and the ward-room being the only portions of a man-of-war from which they are excluded.

Massachusetts in Account with the United States. The third Massachusetts account with the United States has recently been transmitted to Washington, by the auditor, Levi Reed. The amount disbursed on behalf of the general government is $3,365,000; and there is still due to Massachusetts the sum of $1,829,922.

☞ A Mr. William O. Cram, of Hampton Falls, a conscientious peace man, was among the conscripts. He could not send a substitute—that would be making war by proxy, and he regarded it equally wrong to pay commutation. Being a non-resistant, he could not resist the draft, and consequently surrendered himself to the authorities. He passed the surgeon, and was sent to be uniformed. But he declined to don the garb of a man of war, and was, in consequence, with martyr like forbearance, deprived of his ordinary suit, and, like a babe of a day's age, clothed by the attendants. He objects to carrying a gun from conscientious motives, and what is most singular will, it is said, decline to draw pay! He has gone to Concord, a soldier *de facto*, and will doubtless have an experience that will be novel to a peace man.

Drafted Quakers. Three Quakers who were drafted in the second district of Rhode Island, and failed to report, but surrendered themselves as deserters, have been sent to Fort Columbus, where they will be tried by court-martial. Unavailing appeals have been made to the War Department in their behalf.

The Collector for the Third District. E. L. Pierce, Esq., who has been appointed Collector of the Internal Revenue for the Third District, will, we understand, assume the duties of his office on Monday next.

Death of Members of Mass. 54th. Killed Sept. 5th by our own guns—Charles Van Allen, of Lenox, Mass., and Aaron Spencer, of North Lee, Mass., both of Co. A, 54th Mass. regiment.

The best sharpshooters at Charleston are said to be negroes. Five of them recently captured were splendidly armed.

Mrs. Clem White of Selma, Ala., a sister of the wife of Abraham Lincoln, recently presented a Confederate Jack to the gunboat Huntsville, at Mobile.

J. A. Baldwin, postmaster and grocer at Craneville, N. J., was drawing some kerosene oil from a barrel for a customer, Monday evening, when it caught fire and exploded, probably instantly killing him, and setting the building on fire. The house in which were both store and dwelling was entirely consumed.

☞ Capt. J. W. Ames, of the regular army, son of Judge Seth Ames, of the Superior Court of this city, and grandson of Fisher Ames, has been appointed colonel of the colored regiment which has just been raised in Pennsylvania. Col. Ames was a graduate of Harvard in 1854, and a classmate of Col. Lowell, of the 2d Mass. Cavalry.

St. Louis, Sept. 21. The steamer Marcella was boarded and plundered on the 15th inst., at Dover Landing, Lafayette county. The soldiers of the 5th State militia, returning home on furlough, were taken two miles into the woods and shot. The boat was burned.

During the past week, one thousand persons have crossed the river at Lexington, mostly refugees from the border counties. Cass County, under Gen. Ewing's order, is nearly depopulated.

A part of the expedition to Texas has resulted disastrously. The steamers Sachem and Clifton were disabled and captured in an attack on the batteries at Sabine Pass, and Gen. Franklin's command, which awaited the action of the navy, has returned to New Orleans.

Services at the Shiloh Church. On Sunday evening, solemn services were held in the Shiloh (colored) Presbyterian Church, New York, to the memory of the colored men killed in the late riots. Interesting details of the manner of their death were given by Mr. Vincent Colyer and the Rev. Henry Highland Garnett. The attendance was large and respectable, and the most profound attention was paid to the addresses that were made. Mr. Colyer gave a graphic account of the death of Abraham Franklin, Peter Heuston, William Jones, James Costello, Mr. Williams, Wm. Johnson, Augustus Stuart, Jeremiah Robinson, Wm. Henry Nichols, Mrs. Derickson, Joseph Reed, and Samuel Johnson. The Rev. Mr. Garnett followed in his usual felicitous manner. He said that slavery was the cause of the riot, and that since the riot the colored people had been more respected than before. A small tract "To the Memory of the Martyrs" was distributed at the close of the deeply interesting services.

Maine Election. With about fifty towns to hear from, the Union Majority for Governor is 18,312. The House of Representatives will stand 121 Union to 30 Democrats. It appears probable that Smith is elected to the Senate from Lincoln county by somewhere about 100 majority, and he will be the only Democrat in that body.

☞ The President has recently received a letter from Gen. Grant, in which that officer gives in his hearty adhesion to the policy of the Administration as inaugurated by the proclamation of freedom, which he terms the most formidable weapon in the national arsenal.

☞ A prisoner taken from Bragg's army says that Mobile has been stripped of troops for Bragg's army, and that some troops have been sent to him from Charleston; also, that troops from Lee's army were in the late fight—in fact, that the whole Confederacy seemed concentrated there for that attack on Rosecrans.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I have received the following sums, not heretofore acknowledged, in aid of Massachusetts Colored Volunteers, viz:—

A friend, by S. E. Hall, $2; J. M. S. Williams, 25; J. M. Wetherbee, Jr., 5; R. W. Henshaw, 5; William Dall, 50; William Parker, 25; Mrs. Lydia Jackson, 25; a friend, by S. E. Sewall, 20; S. E. Sewall, 5; Thankful Southwick, 6; M. S. Scudder, 4; a friend, 3; John Sawyer, 2; Miss Amory, 25; J. A. Dresser, 10; a friend, 14; Mrs. Dio Lewis, 5; M. A. B., 10; Mrs. Fields, 20; Mrs. M. Goddard, 10; L. S. G., 20; Mary Clap 5; Stephen Clapp, 5; Mrs. D. O. Goodrich, 10; Dr. John Flint, 10; James B. Dow, 10; Mrs. E. D. Cheney, 10; and from Messrs. Hogg, Brown & Taylor, 20 yds. flannel.

The Committee are at present without means to meet calls from the soldiers in the field, or from their families at home.

J. H. STEPHENSON,
Treasurer for the Committee.
12 Arch Street, Sept. 15, 1863.

COLLECTIONS BY E. H. HEYWOOD.

E. D. Draper, Hopedale, $10; Westminster, 5.54; West Wrentham, 3.03; Sheldonville, 1.50; Milford, (Spiritualists,) 10; Natick, 5.57;; Worcester, (Spiritualists,) 10.

☞ NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.—The Sixteenth Annual Term will commence on Wednesday, Nov. 4, and continue seventeen weeks. Lecture fees, $55. Aid will be afforded to a limited number of students needing it. Any person or persons paying to the College $100 can send a student free of tuition through its course of education. Address or apply to the subscriber, at the College, No. 10 East Canton street, Boston.

3t. SAMUEL GREGORY, M. D., *Sec'y.*

☞ THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY—"reorganized, reconstructed and augmented," by the union of the "House of John" and "Tribe of Asa"—will conclude their series of spirit-stirring Concerts in the cause of Freedom, Humanity and Reform, on Friday (this) evening, Sept. 25th, and on Saturday afternoon and evening, at the Meionaon. Tickets of admission—evenings, for adults, 25 cents; children, 15 cents. Afternoon, adults, 15 cents, children, 10 cents.

The character and object of their concerts, and the superior excellence of their singing, should secure the most liberal patronage. Go and hear them!—[*Ed. Lib.*

☞ SABBATH NOTICE.—Rev. L. A. Sawyer, translator of the Scriptures, will preach at Hospitaller Hall, 593 Washington street, next Sunday, at half-past 10, A. M., on Christianity and Christian culture; its varieties, principles and methods.

☞ WORCESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY.—There will be a meeting of the Worcester North Anti-Slavery Society at East Princeton, Sunday, Oct. 11, day and evening. Parker Pillsbury, E. H. Heywood and others will speak.

The passing months are fraught with the most momentous issues to the cause of freedom and humanity, and it is earnestly hoped there may be full delegations of friends from the adjoining towns.

JOSHUA T. EVERETT, *President.*
Moses H. Mirick, *Sec'y.*

☞ AARON M. POWELL will speak in

Providence, R. I.,	Sunday,	Sept. 27.
Mansville, "	Tuesday,	" 29.
Pawtucket, "	Wednesday,	" 30.
Fall River, (Mass.)	Thursday,	Oct. 1.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in Milford, Sunday, Sept. 27, afternoon and evening.

MARRIED—In Kingston, R. I., on the 3d inst., by Rev J. H. Wells, Mr. George H. Mitchell, of New Bedford, to Miss Isabella M. Fayerweather, of the former place.

DIED—In this city, Sept. 16, Col. E. F. B. Mundrucu, aged 71. Col. M. was a participant in the revolutionary struggles of the Brazilian Government some years ago, and led a regiment on the field of battle. After the insurgents were defeated, he, with other officers, was banished from Brazil. He came to Boston, and soon after established himself in business, and has mainly resided here ever since. He subsequently received a pension from the Brazilian Government, and was receiving a pension at the time of his death.

He was enterprising and public spirited, and was highly esteemed by those who knew him, especially by his colored fellow-citizens, with whose interests he closely identified himself. He leaves a wife and family to lament his loss.

The funeral services took place at the Chamber Street Catholic Church. N.

Poetry.

FLOWERS IN THE MARKET.

BY BELLE BUSH.

I've seen by the hillside, and down in the vale,
A meek little blossom, with cheeks lily pale;
I've seen in the woodland the loveliest flowers
Look up through the sunlight, and laugh in the showers;
I've been where the primrose unclosed to the air
Its dew-dripping chalice and nectar hid there;
But joy never flowed in such rills to my heart
As came with your smiles in the crowd of the mart,
Beautiful flowers, beautiful flowers!
Laugh of the sunbeams and pearls of the showers,
I love you, I love you, O beautiful flowers!

I've watched where the rose-heart has whipered its love,
And plighted its faith in the ear of the dove;
I've strayed where the fox-glove hung over the rills,
Where the eye of the daisy shone out on the hills;
I've culled the blue hare-bells, and swung on the vines,
And seen the soft banks where the wood-myrtle twines;
But these never thrilled the sweet chords of my heart
Like the light of your smiles in the din of the mart,
Beautiful flowers, beautiful flowers!
Foot-prints of angels, God's light in the bowers,
I love you, I love you, O beautiful flowers!

I've been where the columbine lifted its head,
And the wintergreen blushed with its berries of red;
I've wandered along like a waif on the sea,
Where my music for hours was the hum of the bee;
I've danced in the halls of the tangled wild-wood,
And heard the loud roar of the cataract's flood;
But peace never nestled so close to my heart,
Till I bent o'er the flowers in the crowd of the mart,
Beautiful flowers, beautiful flowers!

No oak-gnarled branches, no ivy-hung towers
Would have blessed me like you, O ye beautiful flowers!
My spirit was drooping, earth-weary and worn,
As I passed from my home in the early spring morn;
I yearned for the hill-tops, I pined for the vales,
Where I knew the sweet flowers wooed the soft-scented gales.
But a crowd was around me; the tramp of a throng
Hushed the tremulous notes of the Spirit of Song;
Yet all their wild numbers flowed back to my heart
When I saw the bright flowers in the crowd of the mart.
Beautiful flowers! beautiful flowers!
Holy and pure are the mystical powers
That live in your presence, O beautiful flowers!

I've seen gay wreaths over dark rocks flung,
And the moss-fringed nest where the oriole swung;
I've seen the blue-eyed violet peep
Like a timid child from the hedge-row deep;
And I've seen where the small star-flower looked up,
With its silvery eye, to the lily's cup;
But I knew not how precious they were to my heart,
Till I looked on their forms in the throng of the mart.
Beautiful flowers! beautiful flowers!
I've seen fair forms in the festive bowers;
Ye are brighter than they, O beautiful flowers!

The hunter, who follows the mountain stag
Or the fleet chamois o'er the shelving crag,
In the triumph and strength of the fearful hour,
Thanks God for the smile of the Alpine flower.
And thus would I murmur a hymn of praise
For the blossoms that lighten our desert ways;
And bless, from the deeps of a joyous heart,
These lights of the desert—the flowers of the mart.
Beautiful flowers, beautiful flowers!
Black plumes may fall from the coming hours,
But I'll think of you ever, O beautiful flowers!

Adelphian Institute, Norristown, Pa.
—*American Baptist.*

THE SLAVE IN TENNESSEE.

BY ELLEN MURRAY.

A slave, say you? and yet he stood
Up straight beneath God's sky,
And very rarely man on earth
Has uttered words more high;
Roll back the scroll of history—
Recall each ancient word—
Find, if you can, a nobler phrase
By which our hearts are stirred!

A slave! how do we measure man?
Not now by birth or gold;
By spear that led the listed field;
By finer, fairer mould:—
With earth's past youth these tests have passed;
We measure better now—
By size of mind, by warmth of heart,
By soul-light on the brow!

So measure then this man—or slave!
He woke to sudden hope
Of freedom both for soul and limb,
Of wider thought and scope;
His pulses met with eager beat
The first day of the year,
As larks that rise with hurried wing
To greet the day-spring near.

Upon that dream of life broke in
The fatal words, "Not free—
To save the millions of the South,
Our hands must pass by thee."
Oh! many a heart-break less than this,
And many a lesser wrong
Has swept away in ruin's flood
Our great men and our strong.

But he, the slave, looked calmly back
Through grief to Calvary;
Then spoke, with sweetness drawn from thence
"To make my people free,
I take myself with willing heart
The future of the slave,
And bless the hand that passes me,
My helpless race to save."

The measure of a man! Not so!
We need a wider span,—
An angel's measure it must be
To measure such a man.
How small to our blind eyes may seem
The struggle and the pain,
Failing the while to comprehend
The victory and the gain!

FATHER ABRAHAM'S PROCLAMATION.

A SONG FOR THE CONTRABANDS.

Father Abraham has spoken, and his words have magic power,
They tell us of the coming of the long-expected hour:
Upon our night of sorrow the dawn of joy appears,
And our hearts beat high with pleasure, though our eyes be dim with tears.
Farewell to the old plantation on the island by the sea!
To the cabin and the overseer! Our home is with the free.
Beneath the flag of Freedom, with its red, white and blue,
We'll show that new-made freemen can be to Freedom true.

Father Abraham has spoken, and we answer to his call,
From the cotton-fields and rice-swamps we're coming one and all;
Having drained the cup of Slavery, we fear no greater woe—
Its chain cuts closer to the heart than the weapon of the foe.
In peace, they call both chattels—the bullock and the slave;
In war, we claim the title to rank among the brave;
And where the battle thunder-clouds in wildest fury roll,
We'll prove that black, as well as white, can show a hero's soul.

Father Abraham has spoken, and through many a cabin door
The light of hope has entered where it never shone before;
The Man has risen in his might where the Slave would powerless lie,
And for honest Father Abraham he will not fear to die.
The slave may fear his master, but loose his shackled hand,
And new-born courage fills his heart as he grasps a freeman's brand;
And where the bravest lead the van, he'll follow with the brave,
To gain a patriot's honored name, or fill a soldier's grave.

The Liberator.

INFERIORITY OF THE NEGRO.

PONTIAC, (Mich.) Sept. 13, 1863.

MR. GARRISON—The idea has become so deeply imbedded in the mind of the masses, that the negro is inferior to the white man in all the moral and mental virtues, I will make no apologies for asking you to publish the following extract from a letter I have received from a friend in Grant's army, and who witnessed the bravery of black troops at the battle of Milliken's Bend.

The author is a native of the island of Barbadoes, and was raised amid the accursed influences of slavery; but his noble soul has always loathed the wicked system, and, though humble in life, he has uniformly opposed and fought against it and its abettors, at all times and on all proper occasions. He has not only contended against slavery, but also against the unnatural prejudice which exists in vulgar minds against the black race. Neither has he acted from motives of expediency, nor from "military necessity," but he has loved freedom for God's sake, and for the sake of humanity, and because it is beautiful and lovely, and he has hated slavery because it is unlovely and devilish.

Before the slaveholders' rebellion broke out, he was in favor of a *peaceful* separation of the free from the slave States, because he supposed that would be the best way for the North to get rid of complicity with this great wrong, and, at the same time, of giving freedom to the slaves; for, he thought, the South could not sustain the system without the strong arm of the national government. After the slaveholder had appealed to arms, he accepted the issue, and, though over fifty years of age, he passed himself off for less than forty-five, and enlisted as a private soldier in a Wisconsin regiment, and has been battling slavery in that capacity ever since. But here is the extract. EDW. M. MACGRAW.

"Being left behind at Ducksport, in care of the staff baggage, I was lucky to be on hand to witness the bravery and capability of our own raw black recruits, and to partake with them in the spree at Milliken's Bend. The rebels had been skirmishing for several days with our cavalry pickets, and finally drove them in. The second line of pickets was composed of three black regiments of infantry, who were commanded by skilful officers, and who repulsed the rebels with great slaughter.

Gen. Sullivan sent Capt. Dillon, of the 35th Iowa, to Ducksport, to muster every man who could bear arms, and march them to the Bend. A detachment of the 12th Missouri and 8th Iowa was there, who, with our convalescent detachment, were all the white troops that were in the engagement. The 12th Missouri and 8th Iowa guarded the hospital on Milliken's large plantation, which contained seven hundred convalescents, and a large stock of supplies. We started from our camp when the three gunboats hove in sight, and our black pickets held the rebels at bay till the boats arrived, to the astonishment of all who witnessed them.

On the arrival of the boats, the black regiments were on hand to fall back to the river. This they did in a masterly manner. The rebels thought the negroes had broke and were running off, but they had not pursued them far before they perceived the awful snare laid for them. The 12th Missouri and 8th Iowa and ourselves, with a full Iowa battery, lay concealed while they were chasing the negroes, and when in good distance of the river, so that the boats could shell them, we all poured in the most murderous fire that ever went into one body of men. They were struck with consternation. The black troops advanced again and outflanked them, driving them, pell-mell, into a swamp. It was awful, now, to see the black fellows staving their brains out with the butt ends of their guns. The gunboats would have done more execution while the villains were in the swamp, were it not from fear of killing our own black heroes who had followed them in. As it was, we unfortunately lost a few of them by the boats' shells, but as soon as their danger was perceived, the boats moved and got another range. In the meantime, the rebels skedaddled out of the swamp, and away from us, and thus confessed to the superior bravery of a race of men whom they have oppressed and villified and despised so long.

After the battle was over, I had a talk with Maj. Owen, of the 9th Louisiana (colored) regiment, and asked him why three of his companies did not load and fire as the rest of the troops, instead of using the butt ends of their muskets. He laughed, and told me that those companies were the last that came in, and they did not have their muskets given to them till a few days previously, and, in loading, being over-anxious and excited, the most of them had made a mistake, and put the wrong end of the cartridge downward, (the ball end instead of the powder;) but when they found their mistake, instead of running away, they turned their pieces butt end forward, and *ran into the ranks of the rebels*, in the most daring manner. If you have any Copperhead traitors in Michigan, who still insist that black troops will not fight white men, or that our white troops will not fight side by side with them, tell them the battle of Milliken's Bend has settled that matter forever. The blacks have not only fought with the utmost coolness and bravery, but the white and black troops fought harmoniously together!

Never was a body of men flung, as was the case here, promiscuously and hastily together, that fought so understandingly. There was no bickering or bad feeling; and if a blunder was made by one, it was instantly corrected by the other. One of the black regiments had a good position on a knoll, but fired their first two or three rounds two high. This was perceived by the Iowa boys, who sung out to the Louisiana troops, "Black boys, you are firing too high—fire considerably lower, and keep your position—it is a good one." The pieces of the blacks instantly came down to the proper level, as by magic, and sent death by the wholesale into the rebel ranks. We lost about forty-two black privates and some of their officers, and twenty whites. The rebels lost about seven hundred! It was a decided victory for us. The rebels were seven or eight thousand strong, and had boasted that they would break up our negro regiments, and also some of the plantations in the neighborhood that were worked on the new system of free labor. They made a grievous mistake. They undertook to organize again at Richmond, La., but our brigade went out and dispersed them, killed and took a good many prisoners, burnt Richmond, and scoured the country for twenty miles round.

Your friend, WM. C. BARROWS."

THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN.

I believe I know all the good points in that paper; but it is sometimes guilty in a way very irritating to any just and earnest mind.

When reading, last evening, Mr. Sumner's great speech upon our Foreign Relations,—a speech that will gather strength to our people, and rise like a sun of illumination upon the nations of Europe—a speech which, of itself, would secure him immortality, if that were not already secured,—I could but occasionally indulge the side-thought, that this same Springfield *Republican* sought his defeat last fall. The apology was made, that the leading editor was then in Europe. Has he returned? Is *he* any more whole-souled than the rest of the corps? We will see.

The readers of the *Liberator* will pardon me for reminding them, in the first place, of something that appeared in this paper (*Liberator*) of August 21st. The account of the release of Stuart's slaves in Baltimore, by Col. Birney, is enough to move every Christian heart with unqualified joy, and the transaction doubtless thrilled the hosts of watchful angels; but how is the Springfield *Republican*, reputed to be on the side of liberty, affected? It *regrets* this act, and observes:—

"A slave-pen is a monstrous institution, as is slavery, but it is legal in Maryland, and it does not appear by what law, military or other, these United States officers override the laws of Maryland. Such acts ignore the cause of emancipation in the State, and provoke hostility to the general Government."

It was well added:—

"By what law? By the law of God, of course. Birney is a *Doctor utriusque juris.*"

Turn, now, to another case. We have all been deeply shocked by the accounts of the sack of Lawrence. No better description of it has appeared than that given by Capt. Sidney Clarke, Provost Marshal of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Dakota. He says:

"The rebels were particularly anxious to capture Senator Lane, myself and Rev. H. D. Fisher, Chaplain in one of the Kansas regiments."

His own escape, with his life barely, was wonderful. For my purpose, read what he says of Gen. Lane, and in conclusion:

"Gen. Lane's escape was most miraculous. He did not get notice till they charged upon his house. He escaped through a shower of bullets, and secreted himself in the corn-field where I was.

Four of the rebels only were killed in town. As soon as Quantrell left town, Gen. Lane at once organized the citizens who had horses, and with such arms and ammunition as could be caught up, commenced the pursuit. They could be easily followed, as they burned every house on the line of their retreat for ten miles south of Lawrence, and killed many along the road.

Lane came up with them at Brooklyn, while they were firing the town, and at once attacked them and drove them out. Although our force was far inferior to Quantrell's, Lane continued the pursuit for about seventy-five miles, driving them far into Missouri, when the regular volunteers continued the pursuit. Lane's party killed about twenty of the villains. One was a Lieutenant in Marmaduke's army.

Our people are intensely excited, and many of them are under arms. What the Government will do is not known. The "milk and water" policy of Schofield and Gamble in Missouri is responsible for this terrible massacre. How much longer it will take the President to retrace the steps he has taken in removing Curtis and appointing Schofield, I do not know. I hope it will not be long. The tried people of Kansas demand it. The tried friends of the Government in Missouri also unite in asking the removal of Schofield. Nothing but the most vigorous policy will save us from the continual repetition of the Lawrence massacre. SIDNEY CLARKE."

The reader is now prepared to appreciate (?) the following from the Springfield *Republican* of the 11th inst., first editorial:—

"The meeting of individuals at Paoli, Kansas, on Tuesday, was evidently not so large a demonstration as was anticipated, and was chiefly remarkable for Jim Lane's speaking three hours in a heavy rain storm. It is hoped that he caught a severe cold, which will lay him til! the excitement is over. With this mischief-maker out of the way, the authorities would soon restore quiet, and stand a fair chance of capturing and punishing the perpetrators of the recent outrages."

For such rotten, mean, supercilious conservatism as now and then appears in the sheet we are considering—*a conservatism that has done more to protract the war than the energy of the rebels, or the more open complicity of the copperheads*—it deserves to have an avalanche pass over its subscription list.

The Boston *Journal*, to which we have before paid our respects, likewise defiled its issue of last Saturday, by most of its remarks on Kansas. We will not extend this article by quotations therefrom; but we consider its observations worse than the *Republican's*. And we venture to affirm, that neither the Boston *Post* nor *Courier* even—we have not seen their comments—have said anything about this bloody tragedy in Kansas, that insinuates so much falsehood—that is so unfair and accursed. Then think *where the Journal politically stands!*

On the principle, for instance, that the H. W. Beecher and new school wing nowhere *outside* of their own denomination probably have so bitter haters as some of the old school and conservative within; so, doubtless, there are nowhere else more personally spiteful enemies to the most zealous friends of liberty and union than certain individuals by organization belonging to the Republican party. The Lord grant, now we are in the furnace, that *all* our folly may be melted away! May we learn to be discriminating and thorough—to give sufficient weight to the fact, that traitors, in the first step, are ever professed disciples; that there can be but *one* right side to a moral question; that men must be friends, or practically enemies to a principle; that outward victories only enhance the danger of internal corruptions; and that *conservatism never did, and never can do any good.*

Many, including perhaps the editors of the aforesaid papers, fatally mistake, in regard to the last suggestion—the philosophy of conservatism and radicalism. They think there is positive good in conservatism; that some of it is necessary, while it is quite useable and respectable. If I remember exactly, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in one of his essays, opines that conservatism is needful. It is a most pernicious error. "Radical as righteousness"—that is the only *wise* motto; even conservatism is powerless for good. It is a grave where there is neither "knowledge, work or device" for the benefit of the living. Radicalism cannot only impel, it can also restrain. It is intelligent life. Conservatism would never put down the break, only on the up grade.

Our good President, when he yields to radical tendencies and views, is shrewd, unanswerable, gloriously serviceable to the country and to the world. When conservatism has an audience, and secures any sway, he—be it said with respect—blunders, falls upon the wrong man, and appears almost like a born fool; the country atones with more blood, while he multiplies embarrassments for himself, and gives courage to the enemies of his administration.

Orange, Sept. 14th, 1863. L. HOLMES.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO.

MR. GARRISON:—

DEAR FRIEND,—The negro laborers on the Government farms need shirts and shoes. Will the North furnish them?

While the negro is a refugee, a pauper, and a prisoner also—since military law challenges him when he attempts to follow the North Star outside the lines—he must look to the North for help. However worthy he may be of his hire, he is looked upon, by Government, as a pauper; and, although he is promised half the fruits of the land he tills, his pay is neither forthcoming nor certain.

He works well, marvellously well. I have seen him sow the seed, drive the plough, and reap the harvest; and he is brisk, diligent, and thorough.

He works well, but his clothes don't wear well. He works himself out at his knees and his elbows; and would gladly, when Saturday night comes, work himself out of his ragged and soil-stained shirt, if you would send him another to work himself into.

He is without money; but shirts are not without price here; and I pray the North to send shirts and shirting for hundreds of the needy. Don't forget the boys; and *remember the women* also, for they, too, work in the field.

The soil of many of the farms is stony, and hard to tread. The men are foot-sore; and the women are often kept from the field from want of shoes.

Will not every "Contraband Society" in the North send us a box, by way of remembrance?

Let the shirts and shoes come first, though our need of other clothing is urgent.

The boxes may be directed LUCY CHASE, care of Dr. Brown, Norfolk, Va.

Yours, very truly, my dear Mr. Garrison,
LUCY CHASE.
Norfolk, (Va.) Sept. 16th, 1863.

The new organ for the Music Hall, Boston, is 47 feet wide, 13 deep, and 70 high; contains 6500 pipes, 86 through stops, and has four manuals; it weighs between 65 and 70 tons, and it will cost complete about $50,000.

RELIEF OF CONTRABANDS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The first anniversary of the Relief Association for the contrabands of the District of Columbia was held at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, on Thursday evening, 13th ult., and the proceedings were of an unusually interesting character. The church was densely filled with ladies and gentlemen, and the large number of white citizens present indicated the interest taken in the commendable object of relieving the wants of a class who have heretofore been regarded as degraded beings.

One of the principal features of the evening was the presentation of an elegant and expensive regimental flag to the first colored regiment of United States Infantry, under the auspices of the ladies of the association. The proceedings were enlivened with most eloquent music by the ladies and gentlemen composing the choir of the church.

The exercises were opened with prayer, by Rev. Mr. Tanner, colored: after which the President of the Association, Mrs. Keckley, made a few remarks, giving an account of the operations of the Association, the substance of which is embodied in the subjoined reports of the Treasurer and Secretaries of the Association. It will be perceived that the flag was not purchased from the proceeds of the treasury of the Association, but from means collected separately by the ladies from various sources:

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CONTRABAND RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

This Association had its origin in sympathy with destitute and suffering freedmen. One year has passed away since the ladies of Washington, being deeply impressed with their deplorable condition, which was made known to us by their appeals to our sympathies, at the suggestion of our President, met at the house of a friend on the evening of the 9th of August, 1862, to devise some plan to ameliorate their condition. It was then agreed to form themselves into an association. Officers were elected, consisting of a President, two Vice Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, a Board of Directors, and a Visiting Committee.

The address of the Constitution adopted briefly sets forth its object in the following words:—

As the fluctuations incident to human life subject all to changes in their conditions, so the present state of affairs existing in this country having caused many of the hitherto oppressed people of a portion of God's race to be cast among us in a most deplorable condition, our hearts have been made to sympathize with them, and we have pledged ourselves to do all we can to alleviate their sufferings. We propose to visit them, to inquire into their wants, and relieve them as far as we are able, to advise with and counsel them, feeling it to be our duty to assist them toward a higher plane of civilization.

We meet on this, the anniversary of our association, to lay before those who have kindly sustained us in our labor of love and mercy, the manner in which we have disposed of the various contributions placed in our hands, adding that we have not, by any extraordinary method, solicited donations, yet every appeal made by us to a generous and humane public has been responded to. We have, also, by our own exertions, greatly added to our treasury, and we are happy to say, that every effort made by us to obtain funds to alleviate in any way the distresses of our afflicted brethren has been crowned with success, and a widely-extended sympathy has been manifested toward us by our friends at home and abroad, resulting in money and clothing from the following quarters:

From Freedmen's Relief Association of District of Columbia, $5; Baptist Church of Boston, $24; Fugitive Aid Society of Boston, $25; Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, $24; waiters of Metropolitan Hotel, N.Y., $23; Young Misses of Baltimore, $23; Union Progressive Association of Boston, $65; Mrs. President Lincoln, $200; Concerts given by the Association in Presbyterian Church, $249; Festivals given, $108.64; monthly contributions from members and individual donations, $6. Total, $785.64.

Of this amount, we have expended for clothing, fuel, freight on donations of clothing received from the North, for bed-clothes, nourishment for the sick, &c., $663; leaving a balance of $122.

In addition to the clothing purchased by us, we have received from friends at the North and from individuals the following:—

Received of Mrs. President Lincoln, 15 boxes of clothing and $10 worth of groceries; Fugitive Aid Society of Boston, 13 barrels of clothing; Rev. Mr. Grimes's church, of Boston, 12 barrels of clothing; Ladies' Relief Association, of Boston, 9 barrels and 1 box of clothing; Israel Church, of Washington, 2 boxes of clothing; Mr. Seedham, of Washington, 1 box of goods; Mr. Breman, of New Haven, 6 barrels of clothing; Mr. J. Bowers, of Philadelphia, 1 box of clothing; American Freedman's Society, of New York, 1 barrel of clothing, besides very many articles from individuals of this city, all of which have been faithfully distributed by the Visiting Committee, Mrs. Slade, President, who has been untiring in her efforts in doing her utmost for the welfare of this people, and who has rendered to the Association most faithful and efficient service. We have not accomplished as much during the past year as we had desired, yet there is satisfaction in knowing that, as we have fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and ministered to the wants of the suffering, we have been instrumental in doing some good.

Thus far our work, owing to our limited means, has been chiefly in relieving the more immediate wants, and which, of course, claimed our first attention. Next year we hope to accomplish much more, and trust that our friends at home and abroad, who have so generously reposed confidence in us and in our plans during the past year, will continue to assist us, thus enabling us to carry on the good work in which we are engaged, and aiding us in extending the field of our labors for the benefit of all who shall come within our reach.

At a meeting of the Contraband Relief Association, held Monday, June 3, the President suggested the propriety of raising means for a flag for the First District Regiment Colored Volunteers. All were willing to do what they could. We wished to inspire with zeal and courage those who were to go forth and battle with the enemy, that they might distinguish themselves, not as *cowards*, but as men, as valiant and brave as any who have marched to the field during this dreadful struggle. We felt it to be our duty to do something, and were glad that an opportunity had presented itself. If these men are to go forth in defence of Union and liberty, surely it is the least we can do to sympathize with, encourage and assist them, however feeble our efforts may be, and insignificant they may seem. A festival was proposed, which was agreed to; also, subscription papers, for the purpose of raising the necessary money for the purchase of this flag, the result of which was $248.51.

Arrangements were entered into with Mr. D. B. Bowser, a colored artist of Philadelphia. The design and appropriate motto were sent; the flag is before you to-night, at the cost of one hundred and twenty-five dollars. Its workmanship cannot fail to attract admiration. On one side is the representation of the American eagle; on the other is depicted a scene that must enliven the latent spark of patriotism, and thus inspire the hearts of this proscribed race of mankind. The Goddess of Liberty, with her foot on the serpent's head, is represented in the act of handing a musket to a colored man. Her very eyes seem to flash with patriotism; the lips, though dumb, seem to speak the motto above her, "God and Liberty!" Do we not hear the echo from East, West, North, and even from the South, "God and Liberty!"—God, the Giver of every good and perfect gift, among which is *liberty to all men?* The fetters of slavery are already broken, and lie at His feet; the cloud of oppression grows brighter, though not yet entirely passed away. He grasps the musket, and with a look of deep earnestness on his manly face, he seems to say, "God bless you!"

The sum of money raised being more than enough to pay for the flag, it was proposed to use the surplus money for the benefit of the families of our colored soldiers. We have also received, though Mr. S——, from several gentlemen in the Treasury Department, the sum of $81.94, which, added to the money left from the flag, makes $205.45.

After the reading of the above report, Mr. J. F. Cooke presented the flag, on behalf of the donors. He said:—

If the doctrine of the equality of man was announced by the American people in 1776, its adoption has been left for 1863. 1776 and 1863 in glory, in moral significance, in practical effects upon Christianity, civilization, and humanity, must ever grace the pages of history, ever illume and adorn the annals of America, and stand forth prominent among the world's most favored years. How grand, how noble the scene, when we scan the long succession of years between these periods! How, during this long time, America has been deriving so large a source of wealth, so much of her greatness from unrequited toil, and has been building the fabric of so vast and powerful an empire upon and at the expense of human misery! Yet these, the very victims of constant injustice, spontaneously offered her their lives, their all, when peril first presented itself at her doors; and she refused! But now, rebuffs forgotten, the past buried, with patriotism never to be eclipsed, with ardor, devotion, and courage, they promptly throw their all upon her altar, and swear "for her to live, with her to die,"—a people subjected for centuries to the most abject bondage, with all its terrible, cruel concomitants.

Soldiers in this strife from the existing state of things, yours must be the part of true, exalted heroism. To you is assigned as noble a part to play as history has recorded. Upon you are centered the eyes of friend and foe—of friends, that you may, by the nobleness, the magnanimity of your action, by the valor of your arms, claim and gain for yourselves the respect and admiration of the world, and gain from your foes the position of true freemen. Bravely and patriotically go forth to the strife. Others, America's favored sons, have gone there with full consciousness that their deeds, their memories, will be cherished by a grateful people, and that those dear to them they leave behind will be the cherished objects of a country's care. You, America's outcasts, go forth to do battle for your country, with but little positive reliance that your deeds will receive even their just reward. And while you do battle for the noble cause of country, remember that you fight for the still nobler cause, "God and Liberty." There is much controversy respecting your present and future. Soldiers, let not this staunch your ardor and enthusiasm, or affect your bravery and patriotism. You go forth to make your future. From your patience, constancy, and perseverance in the hardships and trials of military life, in the stern necessities of war, from the nobleness and manliness of your bearing, from the prowess of your arms, from your laurels of victory over the haughty and traitorous hordes of oppression, from the full assertion and vindication of your manhood upon the bloody field of strife, shall come forth your glorious future. For the present, give to the winds the wrongs, the unrequited services of 1776. Dwell not upon the faithlessness of 1812, but build your hopes, your faith upon the nature of the present strife. Draw your conclusions from the real cause of this bloody scene, from the most reasonable and probable ultimate consequence. The conflict is not between North and South; it is of nobler aspect, of a transcendantly higher nature. It is of freedom, the equality, and slavery, the oppression of man—a strife between civilization and barbarism, truth and error, right and wrong. Upon our side are arrayed the conquering hosts of universal human freedom; upon the other, the insolent, God-defying hordes of human oppression.

To-day we are making our own history—history that will bid defiance to prejudice and partiality—history of such imperishable material as Kansas and Florida, as Milliken's Bend and Indian Territory, as Port Hudson and Battery Wagner. Deeds that crush prejudice, defy oblivion, and chronicle themselves. Ask you for examples? Need we rake the far past for a Hannibal? the nearer, for the soldier and statesman of San Domingo, Toussaint L'Ouverture; for the sable martyrs of 1776 and 1812; for the intrepid Turcos of the Austrian-Italian struggle? Shall we come to the eventful days of the great American rebellion, and point you to the bleaching remains of the swarthy braves before Port Hudson, denied by a merciless, inglorious foe even the right of sepulture; to the bold dashes and brilliant charges in Kansas, and in the land of the red man; to the brave, soldierly, and heroic victims of rebel torture, disfigurement, massacre, and slavery in the Palmetto State?

And now, soldiers, I have accepted the honor, but I can assure you with no small sense of unworthiness, of presenting, in behalf of the ladies of the Contraband Relief Association, through you, to the First District of Columbia Volunteers, this battle-flag. With it accept their highest considerations for your welfare and happiness, expressions of their greatest admiration for your prompt response to your country's call, your ready acquiescence in the behests of liberty, your ardor and determination to assert your own manhood, the manhood of the 4,000,000 of your oppressed countrymen, and for the great blow you go forth to strike for the equality and fraternity of man, the cause of universal liberty; with the wish that the same patience, the same forbearance, characteristics of you in oppression, may attend you in the possibly prolonged struggle for the existence of your country and for liberty; and with their incessant prayers for your safe but victorious return to the bosoms of your relatives and friends, and the extended arms of a grateful country.

Accept this, and let its future be blended with that of the stars and stripes, the nation's emblem. By the side of it, let it be borne in triumph over every foe. Let it, by its association, nerve you with firmer purpose, fire you with greater ardor for that emblem in whose vindication, for whose defence you go forth with stalwart frames to lay bare your manly bosoms to the storm of battle, to pour out of life's fount until every field of strife be crimsoned with its blood, if necessary, even to its last drop.

The flag was received on behalf of the regiment, a detachment of which was present, by Captain James J. Ferree, of Pennsylvania. He said, as the officer temporarily in charge of the colored soldiers, he would accept the flag, and promised that they would carry it to the field of battle, and they would remember when there that the scroll in the hand of the goddess of liberty was the "Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1, 1863." (Applause.) Though the bullets of the rebels might riddle that picture, rebel cannon and rebel forces should never cause the withdrawal of that proclamation. Before that should be done, every drop of their blood would mingle with the waters that percolate the earth, and they would live only in memory. (Applause.) The colored and white races are now fighting in the same cause—the cause of human liberty. The despised, degraded, and outraged African race have patiently endured their wrongs for two hundred years; but now, in the providence of God, the time has come to strike a blow for their freedom, and they have sprung at the first call. They know that if taken in warfare, slavery or immediate death in cold blood shall be their fate; yet they gladly give their lives; for they know they are fighting for all humanity and for liberty for all the races. (Applause.) Never since the world began has there been manifested a spirit so perfectly, so sublimely triumphant over all human prejudice, over all indignities, over all wrongs.

Men have often wondered why the colored people have borne their wrongs for two hundred years. But the hour has at last arrived. They go forth in their strength, and shall feel yet stronger when they carry that beautiful flag, and rush to the "imminent deadly breach" beneath its folds. We expect to die, but our examples shall enrich history, and shall be a heritage to all humanity. (Applause.)

Ladies of the Contraband Relief Association, we thank you; and permit me to say that the colored brother represented on the beautiful flag you have given me, with a musket in his hands, is the emblem of the salvation of the white race.

The efficiency of colored regiments had been tested at Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, and yet more recently and more gloriously at Fort Wagner; and the speaker felt assured that the regiment of soldiers which he now represented would cover itself with glory.

Mr. Ferree's speech was loudly and rapturously applauded. At its conclusion, loud cries were made for Colonel Forney, who was observed in the audience. Colonel Forney made a few remarks in response. He said he had not expected to be called on to make a speech, and trembling as he was under the excitement produced by the speech of Captain Ferree, he was scarcely able to utter the thoughts that were swelling in his bosom. He was there to return thanks. He had been one of those who, during nearly twenty years, had been swayed by political prejudices against the colored race; and yet, since the opening of this grand drama, so significant to us and to our people, so decisive of the destinies of all the human race, he had come to the conclusion that, if liberty is to be secured to us, permanent and practical liberty, it must be by the aid of the colored races upon this continent. When the gentleman who spoke last, and who, he was glad to know, bore a name very dear to him, and was a native of the old State of Pennsylvania, he felt glad that a representative of that Commonwealth, and the descendant of a great family there, had spoken the glorious truths which had fallen from his lips. He could only say that all the powers left to him, whether of voice or pen, were dedicated to this great struggle for our Union. It was extraordinary to look at the disenchantment of the last two years.

But nothing marks the change more than this demonstration. Who would have believed, three years ago, that such a radical and progressive speech as that of Captain Ferree could have been made in the District of Columbia—in the very hot-bed of slavery—here, where for fifty years slavery has dominated! We have heard a white man daring to say things which, three years ago, would have consigned him to a common prison. These are marvellous changes, but God has determined that there are to be still more marvellous changes.

God has determined that the great question of human freedom must be decided in this contest; and the greatest to happen is this, that any of the seceded States hereafter to be re-admitted into the Union must furnish such guarantees as will prevent any further rebellion, and any further secession. Colonel Forney, after again thanking the audience for their attention, retired.

The choir sang another beautiful piece, after which the meeting adjourned.

BROWNLOW'S KNOXVILLE WHIG AND REBEL VENTILATOR.

I propose to publish a weekly and tri-weekly journal, bearing the above title, at Knoxville, in East Tennessee, and the weekly paper, made up from the contents of the tri-weeklies, I propose to send out to distant subscribers for two dollars per annum, invariably paid in advance. Subscriptions and remittances will be forwarded to me at Cincinnati, from which point I expect to ship my paper and materials. I expect to issue the first number in October, as it was in that month, two years ago, my paper was crushed out by the God-forsaken mob at Knoxville, called the Confederate authorities. I will commence with this hell-born and hell-bound rebellion where the traitors forced me to leave off, and all who wish the paper would do well to begin with the first issue, as I intend that single paper shall be worth the subscription price to any unconditional Union man.

In the rule of my editorial conduct, I shall abjure that servility which destroys the independence of the Press, and cast from me that factious opposition which gives to party what is due to country. And whilst the name of my journal indicates, in unmistakable terms, its politics, I shall, as a faithful sentinel, forget Whigs, Democrats, Know Nothings, and Republicans, and remember only my Government and the preservation of the Federal Union—as richly worth all the sacrifices of blood and treasure their preservation may cost—even to the extermination of the present race of men, and the consumption of all the means of the present age!

Publishers inserting this prospectus once, prominently, and sending me the paper at Cincinnati, will be favored with an exchange.

September 7, 1863. W. G. BROWNLOW.

INDIGNATION AGAINST JEFF. DAVIS. Although carefully covered over with the mantle of secrecy by Congress, enough has been disclosed by stern realities to show the total incompetency of President Davis to govern the affairs of the Confederacy. He has lost the confidence of both the army and the people, and if an election to-morrow was to come off for the Presidency, we believe that he would not get the vote of a single State in the Confederacy. Yet if the Provisional Congress had done its duty—if the present Congress would do its duty, President Davis could readily be driven into a course of efficiency. He is President of the Confederate States for six years. The constitution has not been proved to be inadequate to rectify his imbecilities. He can be controlled and directed, as the King of Great Britain is.—*Charleston Mercury, Sept. 5.*